THE LIBERATOR -18 PUBLISHED -EVERY FRIDAY MORNING, -AT-

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INGTON, May 9.

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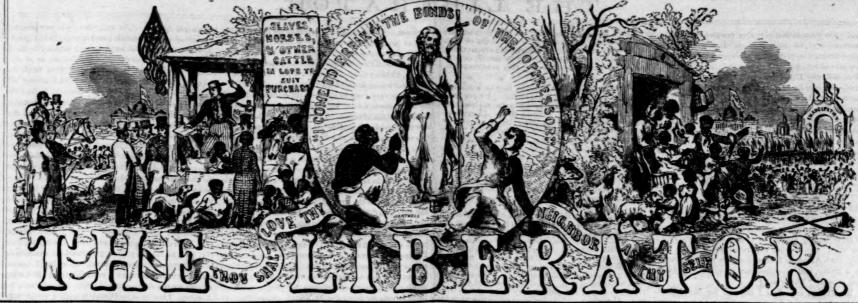
27 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6. ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

F TERMS - Three dollars per annum, in advance. Four copies will be sent to one address for TEX ss, if payment is made in advance. All remittances are to be made, and all letters resising to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be decided, (rest PAID,) to the General Agent.

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ia, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are atherized to receive subscriptions for The Libenaton. F The following gentlemen constitute the Financial nittee, bu are not responsible for any debts of the paper, vir :- WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDWIND QUINCY, En-MID JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

the inhabitants thereof." "Ilay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

tary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive rement of the subject, not only the President of THE UNITED STATES, but the CONNANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMAN-CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. ... From the instant that the slaveholding States become the sheatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of SATERY, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPERED wrm, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cossion of States, burdoned with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to any on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, AC-NG TO THE LAWS OF WAR ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostife armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armics have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."--J. Q. Adams.

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BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1864.

WHOLE NO. 1740.

The Liberator.

NEW ENGLAND A. S. CONVENTION. CONCLUDING SESSION.

[Phonographically reported by JAS. M. W. YERRINTON.] FRIDAY EVENING, May 27, 1864.

The Convention was called to order at 8 o'clock, Mr. Quixey occupying the chair. The audience was quite large at that time, and continued to increase, usil the Temple was crowded in every part. The Chairman stated that the question before the Convention was on the adoption of the resolutions

presented by Mr. Garrison as substitutes for those Bredby Mr. PILLSBURY, and both series were read by one of the Secretaries, Mr. POWELL.

SPERCH OF PARKER PILLSBURY. Mr. Chairman,-I did not propose to occupy another moment of the time of the Convention, and I certainly have risen with a great deal of reductance. I do not understand why such a motion as that should have ben made. The truth is, whether we are willing to accept it or not, this Anti-Slavery enterprise is the life of this nation, and if it have any salt, it is here. The politicians and the churches are looking to this city of ours-a city set on a hill. They are not particular whether we congratulate the Administration on its achievements; they are not particular whether we congratulate certain States on the abolition of slavery, in so far as it has been accomplished; but they want to know what this Society thinks of the great Anti-Savery question which we have considered, and which we have enforced upon the consideration of the country now for more than thirty years. I could and you letters from Senators in Congress, written within the last two or three weeks-written, some of them, since our anniversary in New York-complainisg that ours is an uncertain sound. True and faithful men in Congress say, that, as we do not press the abclition of slavery as in time past, and affirm the necounty of adherence to the principles of absolute jus tice and righteousness as in time past, the conservatire Republicans in Congress are taking courage in their conservatism therefrom, and that it is in vain that any of the faithful men in Congress are endeavoring still to be faithful. I wish I had some of those letters here: but of this I suppose we are certainthat we have come at last to believe that the Admin latration has never yet, on its own confession, adopted me of our principles or measures, as the best instrumentality that can be employed now by the nation for the accomplishment of our grand purpose. When Fort Sumter was cannonaded, we were told that our rork was done; we were told by men high in position in the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that the American Army was now the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that not Mr. May, but General Winfield Scott was its General Agent, and we were required to "sund still and see the salvation of God." That was the sentiment enjoined. It was a very unhappy quolation, even of a very ancient Scripture, for the response to that sentiment, even then, was, "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." "Stand still, and see the salvation of God!" If there was ever a doctrine of devils, it was that. Stand still and you shall see the stagnation of God,"

Fere misled when that sentiment was inculcated upon Our work was not done; three years have shown that it was not; and now, it seems to me, there is becessity for a return to our former position. The country is exultant at the strange and fearful merance of General Grant-" I shall put this work forward, on this line, if it takes all summer"; and we he new making that almost the watchword of the American army and of the country. But what do these fearful words imply? What but additional saughter, what but additional butchery, what but additional suffering, mourning and woe? That is not

God's plan of saving this country. God has no idea

d aring this nation through any such instrumen-

is the universal law, in all time; and, consequently, we

We have heard the sentiment inculcated on this lathem, yesterday and to-day, that we are to rely on the Administration-to rely on that kind of agency and instrumentality. Now, is that God's plan of saving the nation, or saving men ? Are you willing that mother long and dreary summer shall bear onward to ternity another register of hundreds and thousands of your young braves, their lives sacrificed, not in fighting Jeff. Davis, but the Jehovah of Hosts? For command of God is clear enough, plain enough; and until we do justice, until we proclaim liberty, we tanot be saved. We may vanquish the South to the Gulf of Mexico, but that is not salvation. On the other hand, the South may vanquish the North, and in it is ashes from the shores of the lakes to the exfremity of Madawaska; but if, in the very askes of the North, we sit down in penitence and contrition, emembering the sin against our brother, it will be a

though over which all heaven will rejoice.

All philosophy is false, it is absolute atheism, which template the justice and righteousness of God. We talk of iron-clads, and Irish conscripts, and canon, and columbiads, when the command of the Most High is, "Execute justice and judgment, and he shall thy light break forth as the morning." Is hat the sentiment even of this platform? Is it the entiment of the church? Is it the sentiment, at unt, of the Government?

I did not wish to speak a word this evening; but it to me we owe it to the handful of faithful hen in Congress, we owe it even to the President himall instead of passing congratulatory resolutions site fresh atterance to faithful and persevering itimony. It seems to me that we owe it to them, and to all that is faithful in the country, that w to our former position; and make our voice hin heard, and our influence felt, that such a man as Carles Summer-for I believe he is about the last "faithful among the faithless found,"-that such at least as he shall feel that there is a little band hat have not yet bowed the knee to the image of

ask me to adopt them as substitutes for the utterance itates in the same direction. The North, full of men, of faithful testimony, and just and proper criticism, I skill, education, thrift, purpose, God reigning, must think the demand is altogether too unreasonable, and give law to this continent in the end, and make the I cannot accede to it.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

these two sets of resolutions for the first time this unmixed Government from the Atlantic to the Pacific, evening. I see no reason why one should be substituted for the other. (Applause.) It seems to me that, seeds and elements of quarrel, as it did before—which? with some slight alterations, they should both receive Shall we round the Republic into one perfect whole, the sanction of this Convention, and be passed as the the envy of the nations, able to dictate law to the conexpression of its opinion. The resolutions offered by tinent; or shall it be an aggregation of particles, not my friend Mr. Pillsbury appear to me to express the fused together, but merely massed up by accident, perexact and literal, and needed truth; a truth, not only haps to break asunder again-which? That is the only exact and literal, but needed at the present hour, and especially fit and important for an Anti-Slavery Convention to utter. It seems to me, as I stated last night, does on all that has been done-all of it. That long that in a country like this, where the Government and goodly list is as familiar to my lips as it is to his. does not reside at Washington, but only the Adminis- I am willing to go further, and to say that events tration resides there—the agents of the Government; in a reading country, where nine men out of every landscape from a railway train, that we can hardly ten daily inform themselves of public affairs, and make stop to discriminate, and ask their full meaning. We up an opinion on them; in a country where one city are borne on so rapidly, that we hardly know what is cannot change the Government before another city carrying us, nor whither we are tending. can hear of it, as was the case when Montesquieu can hear of it, as was the case when Montesquieu said, "Paris is France,"—meaning that Paris could change the Government before Marseilles could hear of it and intervene,—but, on the contrary, in a country like this, where you can concentrate, by telegraph and railway, the opinions of a million of men in twen- fuller hope. ty-four hours upon a given point,-the people have

part of the Government. reformer, as a creator of public opinion.

aware that they point to Boston, and say, "We ward, as we have been for the last dozen years." I record as his claim for another four years of power. say, that earnest and sincere anti-slavery men, occupying that position, should never be able to say former, looking over the country, hoping and me

an Abolitionist and reformer, not a politician. n Abolitionist and reformer, not a politician.

Now I want to say a word in behalf of the resoluments, enough time, unlimited power, and they ha tions of Mr. Pillsbury, but not in denial of those of done just half the work that was to be done. The my friend Mr. Garrison. I object to the commence- question is, whose fault is it? My friend Garrison ment of Mr. Garrison's, because I do not think it the says, "The people's; Mr. Lincoln has done as well truth. It says this :- "That the progress of the Anti- as he could; he has always stood ahead of the peo-Slavery cause, since the rebellion broke out, in view ple; he has used every weapon as soon as they gave of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, of it to him, and has always led rather than lagged be the feeling toward the negro race throughout the North, hind public opinion." Well, it is a matter of opinion almost verging upon bloody civil war at our doors, has whether he has or not. One can fortify his judgmen been wonderful," etc. I am perfectly willing to say with facts, and another can-but in the end, it is a mat that "the progress of the anti-slavery cause since the rebellion broke out has been wonderful." I have no my excellent and honored friend, Mr. Thompson, utdoubt of that; no man can deny it who is acquainted tered the eulogy which he did this morning (though with our country; but, at the same time, I am not I had not the pleasure of hearing it) on the action of willing to say that it has been wonderful "in view the President; because there are two facts on which of the fearfully divided state of public sentiment, and one must base his judgment: one is, "What is the the feeling toward the negro race throughout the President?"—and the other is, "What have been North, almost verging upon bloody civil war, at our doors." There was no such state of things existing in here is the mechanic; there are his tools. Now, i within six months, the Government, created it. (Ap- his tools, (that is, the people and public opinion) plause.) I therefore object to that part of Mr. Garri- think our honored visitor makes two mistakes. In

have spoken on the same side, are despondent. Now, licopinion of this country debauched by a weak-min ideas is ended,—when this struggle between Massachusetts and South Carolina, the one to supersede the other, is ended, I have not the shadow of a doubt that ion as represented by this resolution. My evidence,

South (beggarly, in comparison,) over in its own image. The only question is-when? Shall it be at the end of this sharp ordeal of war. When peace comes, and you hang your torn but glorious banners up in your Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,-I have heard halls, shall there be one harmonious people, and one crowd upon us so fast, shoot by us so quickly, like the

(Applause.) So do I. Nobody has a firmer faith or a

Another thing. You would imagine, from some of become the largest portion in the Government, and the discussions which have taken place here, that Presonly their agents reside at Washington. And not ident Lincoln's personal character is at stake; that we only that, but Mr. Lincoln has again and again avowed were weighing him in the balances in which the Dithat he sits there waiting to know what the people vine Judge will finally weigh him-motive against want, and what the people will dare—what the public temptation, education and opportunity against action opinion will enable him to do. We are, therefore, a —and making up the verdict. We are doing nothing of the kind. The amount of his sin or his virtue is Allow me to repeat again what I quoted last night no matter of mine. How much he ought to have from Cobden, as his analysis of the nature of Gov- done, and how much he has failed to do, God knows; ernment, in a republican country. That reform and and I leave that judgment where it belongs. I cannot agitation are a part, and a recognized part, of modern affairs, was all expressed, he said, in two words—

I could, I have no need to do so. I want him only Principle-Pressure. The people announcing abso- as a tool to work out a certain result. For me, h lute right-Principle; Government forced to enact in is only an agent to do a certain kind of business. I statutes as much as statesmanship can make availa- want a plane, and you offer me a chisel. Well, I do ble at the time-Pressure. I contend that our part in not insult the chisel by flinging it aside and saying this partnership is to elaborate and declare the abso-still, "I want a plane." Neither do you remove my lute, theoretical, final right, and then let statesmanship, objections by crying out, "Boards can be planed with politics, the Baltimore and Cleveland Conventions, a chisel!" True, if you take a week for the joband Republican assemblies, settle how far they can great loss of time. If I can have a plane, I prefer it, go toward that goal to-day. It is not for us to de-scend into the arena of availability, and count up what ing. I see before me a devious channel, through can be done; but it is for us to announce, as we al- which the ship of state must be piloted. I see every the laws of justice, demand should be done. When the war lasts, hardens the rebellion into a nation, and I come here, therefore, as a member of the Massachu- doubles the chance of foreign interference. I want, setts Anti-Slavery Society and the New-England Anti- therefore, as my servant, whenever I can get him, a Slavery Convention, I come as an Abolitionist, as a man who, I think, understands the problem, is capable, reformer, as a creator of public opinion.

I am aware, as my friend Mr. Pillsbury has just pilot the ship of 'state speedily and safely through, stated, that the leaders of public action in the Senate at the least cost. Mr. Lincoln comes to me after three House are saying to day, and have been saying for years' service, and says, "There is my record—reapthe last three months, "We are trying to drag the members of the Republican party up to the level of that record. He comes, this November, a servant, to what the times demand; and their answer to us is, us, his sovereigns, and asks us to continue his power. the Old Guard don't ask for anything; they express Well, what are we to do? Examine. Has he any entire satisfaction; why should we voluntarily go be- greater stake in the nation than I have? Take him yond what they demand? Wait until they find out from his pedestal, and he is but a single man. The something we have not done, and ask for it!" I am country is ours-free institutions are ours-the future is ours-the cost is ours-the peril is ours-as well as find no urgent demand there for anything more, and his. He does not demand, he has no right to dewe decline to go ahead, without being bayonetted formand, indemnity from criticism. He holds up

Now, therefore, as a citizen, as an agitator, as a re this; and therefore I do not think that we have been anxious to do the best, what voice shall I utter? quite fulfilling our function of late, in elaborating am going, first, to look at the country. I see a Conthe absolute right, and urging party to the embodying of it, as much as possible, into law. You will un- Just about one-third; but I will grant you, if you derstand me, therefore, as coming here to-night as please, that it is one-half subdued. You may take any proportion. The Government has had ample 1861 or 1862. If it exists to-day, or if it has existed regard to the mechanic (that is, the President,) and son's resolution, and I would like to add another clause regard to the second, I have no surprise in seeing him to his concluding resolution, and then I would pass them, in addition to Mr. Pillsbury's. pression of this resolution, that the President seems Understand me. I am not here to night to be to have made the most economical use of all the means thrown, by adverse pressure, into the attitude of a desponding speaker. Some gentlemen on this plate could command. I do not wonder at Mr. Thomp to-day have taken it for granted that my friend son's taking that view, coming here as he has don Mr. Foster, Mr. Pillsbury, myself, and others who within the last three months. He knows only the pul I have not an element of despondency from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot—not one. I am as hisses.) He never saw and cannot know the twenty full of faith in God and Democracy as I ever was. I millions of 1861 and '62, when the people, as a un am as full of conviction that when this epoch is ended laid itself at the feet of the Government, uttering no —this epoch; not when you call home the cannon and furl the banner, necessarily,—but when this epoch, marked by a strife betwixt Northern and Southern at once and forever!" (Applause.) I deny, and I

congratulatory resolutions be properly tempered, and toward the recognition of every man as a citizen-a out-ran Abolitionists, taunted me and Mr. Garrison vention in their eye. Florida stains her soil with married—the result, a harmonious State, paying as no one is more ready to adopt them than I; but if you Government based on brains. Here, likewise, it grav- as conservative. No single paper at the North-and blood, in order that the Government may get reprewhat are papers? Vanes—weathercocks. The editor prints what will sell. He writes what will get him River—for what? To buy the support of cotton specsubscribers. He puts his ear to the ground, and lis- ulators-nothing else. He creates a Military Board, tens with Indian vigilance to hear, one moment be- and calls it a Government-for what? To send fourfore other ears can, the coming tread, and interpret it.

The press, from the Mississippi to the Bay of Massadescended into the arena, to divide, and confuse, and chusetts, from the lakes down to Maryland, with the chill the purpose of the people. At this moment, Mr. single exception of the Boston Courier (and the ex- Thompson lands upon our shores. He sees a people ception makes the unanimity all the more remarka-dropped from the height of revolutionary enthusias ble,) when Fremont issued his proclamation, said, en- down to the vulgar level of political quarrels, and he thusiastically, "Amen!" (Loud applause.) There says-" Why, the President has done marvels, if he was not a print, from the New York Herald to the never had any better tools than these." Ah! but this worst print in New York, that did not endorse it. cold, dead lump is not the lava 1861 gave into his You met no man in the streets who did not say hands! (Loud applause.) 'Amen." One unbroken wave of delight rolled Then, again, I think our friend makes another misfrom the Bay of Massachusetts to the Rocky Mountake; and at this I am more surprised, knowing his tains, sweeping every dissent, if it existed, before it. long experience in matters of government and agita-At that moment, if the President of the United States tion in his own country-yet I am not very much surhad put himself at the head of that public opinion, he prised even at this; which is, that he believes so fully could have flung the seventeen States in one red-hot and kindly the pleasant words of political gentlemen thunderbolt on the rebellion. (Applause.) You at Washington. We know how wisely they can charm know,—at least every man accustomed at that time the ear with nice words, of which they do not keep to address public assemblies knows,-that you could the promise to the heart. We know too well how little not posibly atter anywhere, in the most mixed audi' resolutions, proclamations and promises have meant ences, a word that went beyond the popular demand. in days past; and he knows it, if he will call to mind Sunter reached Boston, the veriest Hunker in the State, who had just voted scores of times for Jefferson of their administration, and not the pleasant words of Davis, locked his office, put the key in his pocket, their conversation. You know, every one of you, wrote to Gov. Andrew for a commission, and started on his crusade against slavery—Ben Butler. (Apfriends, year after year, and have quoted to you the plause.) He did not know exactly where he was go- good words that Mr. Lincoln whispered to Mr. Suming; or what he was doing, but he obeyed the great ner, the excellent promises that he made to Mr. impulse; and that impulse is tested by what he be- Wilson, the charming words he said to me. Why, came. He went to Maryland, and the first thing you when we saw him, he promised so much, we could not heard of him was, that, blinded by the cobwebs of get hold of him anywhere. He anticipated everything his old ideas, he said he would return a slave; but we would ask, by saying he had already decided to do in ten days, he had coined the word "contraband"; it,—yet we have never heard of those things since. in ten more, he had revolutionized Fortress Munroc; As a citizen, therefore, I refuse to commit my future in a month or two, he had became the apostle of an to the pleasant words of Mr. Abraham Lincoln. I rate anti-slavery gospel which made ours tame in compari- him at the exact value of his acts-nothing more. I son. (Applause.) Now, I will allow, if you please, am willing to give him credit for what has been done (not that I really think it) that Butler has not an atom in the exact degree in which I think he has done it. has nothing but the shrewdness of a politician, and the last moment, bayonetted up to it by public opinhas his eye fixed on the Presidency. the moment, still he is just as good a yardstick to done anything out of the impulse of his own statesmeasure the public with! Where did he go for pop- manship, of his own purpose, I give him all credit for hearts of the people of 1861? He out-ran us all in does he mean to do in the future? What does he anti-slavery zeal and effort. That such a keen politi- avow? With what men does he promise to associate cian chose that course, shows me what he (and a shrewder judge does not live) considered the strength firm that Mr. Lincoln has frankly chosen his party. and unanimity of public opinion. That by so doing He has frankly avowed his purpose, and has without he succeeded in making himself the most popular man in the North of all the war has thrown to its surface He sends William H. Seward to Auburn, who makes ways have done, fearlessly, what ought to be done,—
hour momentously important, because every hour lost
in the North of all the war has thrown to its surface
what the necessities of the case, and the future, and
is an opportunity for misfortune. Every month that to plant himself down in the stratum of old-fashioned another four years of the Secretaryship. Those who anti-slavery, deep as he could get. (Applause.) He said to himself, "If this is ever to be a nation, it is to question was stirred, have said to him-"Sir, does be a nation on an anti-slavery basis." I take him as good yardstick. He knew what he was about. I Cabinet or a new one?" "It means that I come back maintain at this day, that the name of Ben Butler is with the old Cabinet "-Blair, Seward, Bates, Welles.

> sent him back into private life. man in a hundred, but I mean ninety out of a hun- themselves against us. When the black men know thirds of those who do not do their own thinking, were side. (Applause.) looking in that direction. They had no lack of courrebellion would not have lasted twelve months. (Ap. come up and occupy their places. tience, the silent acquiesence with which the nation, determined to believe in its Government, submitted to lecturing, at that period, in the Northwest, from Wiselection. If he gives us no better results and no more showed the state of affairs. Again and again, by judge, lawyer, engineer, merchant, I was told-"Mark will be a Democratic party next fall." There was

lar man in the loyal States? Not military success-

with him; he reads them just as honestly that way as
I do the other. I do not doubt it. My friend who sits

While, Louisiana, quarrelling its way back to peace behind me (Mr. Thompson) does not know the facts He comes here when the indecision of the Government, when the chicanery of the Cabinet, when the war, changed from an actual battle into a mere politi-cal machine, has produced a reaction in public senti-who is willing to stand by him, "There is a farm for

Why, the very moment that the report of the gun at the experience of his own country, and judge our poof heart; no morale; no principle whatever; that he When he has done anything only on compulsion, at Grant it all for ion, I give him no credit-none at all. When he What means did his unquestioned shrewd- it. But, credit or not, his credit is not the question ness adopt to plant himself deep down forever in the his laurels are not in question. The question is, what

the most popular one in the Northern States, from and Chase. That is the Cabinet; that is the Presi Massachusetts back to the Mississippi. (Prolonged dent. What is the policy? Take Louisiana. We applause.) Well, what has made him the most popu- have full possession of a certain portion of that State -some sixteen of the thirty or forty parishes-absorhe has not had it; not long service in a civil capacity; lute and entire command. We have endeavored to it has not been wholly that. What made him pop- defend it-twice in difficult and doubtful moments. ular was, that immediately, as if by magic, he accept- The white men have always stood aloof, willing to see ed the instinctive groping of the people, and went out us beaten. They have not uttered the first loyal word. endeavoring to lead them into the promised land. He We have tried them both ways. Butler took them. went so far that the administration dreaded him, and and put them in jail. That did not convert them Banks invited them to his parties-learned new dance But I am not now testing the Administration, I am with which to please them. That has not converted testing the people; and I say that wherever you go, no matter to what test you submit, in the years 1861 them, either. His wife has scattered invitations over the rebel city, and they have been flung back unopened and '62, this nation was undivided-using that term in into her face. That has not converted them. When the proper sense. Of course, I do not mean every the white men know we need them, they always range dred. Every man who thought for himself, and two- we need them, they always range themselves on ou

Now, there are two ways of treating Louisiana age. They would have trodden down slavery in a One is, to take it, hold it as in a vice, like subjects pent; they would have annihilated States; and like the vassals of India, like the territories subject to my judgment is-and I believe history will confirm it a crown. That is one way. Let those obstinate rebel -that if such a man as Butler, such a man as Fre- die out-God's method of converting hunkers! (Apmont, had been then at the head of public affairs, this plause.) Let that generation pass away, and their son plause.) What hindered any man from doing then twenty years. Meanwhile, Yankee thrift, energy, what Grant is doing now? Is there a man here who capital and skill, will crowd in and occupy the State. doubts that if McClellan had wished, he could have When that is done, we shall have a solid basis on which gone to Richmond? [Voices-" No, no;" "Yes, to build Louisiana; build it safely; built once, built yes."] Nobody, of course! Only recollect the pa. forever. That is the plan which might, perhaps, be inferred from the theory of Mr. Sumner. It takes twenty years. Meantime, the Government is despot the long, dull burden of McClellan! (Laughter and ism. Louisiana is vassal. Extend that over fourtee applause.) We refused, all that time, to disbelieve the States, and you have a republic here, despotism there. tentions of the Government. Traitor as we thought It is a bad plan. It habituates the Government t McClellan, we refused to interpret Lincoln by him. despotism; it educates the North to despotism; it de-There was no Democratic party then. I remember stroys the flavor, takes off the edge of Democratic principle and vigilance. It is a bad plan. It make consin down to the bottom of Ohio, and men said the negro hate the white man; it leaves the white to me,-" We tremble for the President at the next man to crush the negro. The negro says to General Banks-" I can get sixty-five dollars a month as a rigid policy, there will start into existence a Demo- engineer." "I won't hear anything about it. Go to cratic party." ("Hear, hear.") The very phrase that plantation; stay a year; let the white man tell you what you are to do, and fix your pay; nine dollars a month is the highest price." The laborer will me! If the Government does not do something, there not work willingly, cordially, with his full heart, under such a system. Capital and labor are at war. It none then; did not dare to show its head; did not cannot be otherwise. When capital and labor are at war, the State, as a pecuniary experiment, is a failure exist; that is, it had no rank and file.

All that while the people panted to be allowed to With a debt which figures cannot describe resting or act. There is no use in my standing here and under- the industry of the nation, the State of Louisiana will taking to give you the grounds of my opinion, for I should have to go over the entire record. Mr. Garrigrees higher than the pauper laborer of Europe, is to son reads the facts contrarywise. I cannot find fault be ground down to that level, by bearing the whole

> contributes nothing. It is a bad plan, all through. What is the other plan? It is-Build the State a once ! Give the black man a vote. (Applause.) Give

much as Massachusetts toward cancelling the debt; a bulwark, enabling us to laugh at the plots of the French Emperor and of Spain. (Loud applause.) On any other plan, it is an open door, with "Quarrel" written over its arches, inviting French Mexico to come in to instigate dissensions. This last is Durant's plan-one of the few white men of Louisians who stand by us; a plan that Banks represents to Lincoln can be carried out and finished in three years. What is Lincoln's answer? "Crush it! Tread it out under your heels!" "What shall I put instead of it?" Why, get ten thousand men; drag the seamen on shore; marshal the soldiers to the ballot-box; get every man from the jails and lot him vote; and let me create a State out of something, get it a sham seat in the Senate, and represented in Baltimore." A State! What sort of a State? All the white men, soured by defeat, plotting aristocratic institutions, hating republicanism, sending a representative to take his place side by side with Charles Sumper with an equal vote on the future of the country. It is national suicide! That is Mr. Lincoln's plan. I do not very much blame him for it. He was born in Kentucky He cannot see any higher. Born among slaveholders, he cannot see beyond the level of a white skin. Not so very much his fault. But that is his plan. It is a chisel, and I want a plane. It is a curb, and I want a spur. Some horses need a curb, and others a spur. Learn the difference before you get into the saddle, or you will soon come out of it. (Laughter and applause.) The question is, whether we shall have, in the future, democratic institutions or an aristocracy. Mr. Lincoln thinks we can get along for a while yet with arisfocratic institutions, as we have done. I am not here to blame him. Let him go home to Springfield and cherish his theories; but I want a man who believes in democracy-that is all. (Applause.) He has had his three years, and tried it, and has not succeeded. Where is my fanaticism in saying, I want somebody else to try something better. I am sick, and send for an allopathic physician; I find I am growing worse, and call in a homosopathiat, to see if he will do any better. Does anybody blame me ? We have tried one method, and having done little or nothing, compared with our means, decide to try another. I do not deny that the Government have done something; of course they have done something. The dullest Chinese junk cannot help moving before a tornado, but it does not go ahead like a Cunarder What I say is this; that with steam enough in the boiler to go forty miles an hour, we have only made five. Mr. Garrison thinks the boiler won't bear any more; I differ; I believe in the locomotive more than n the engineer.

Again, my friend (Mr. Garrison,) if I judge from his speech this morning, reverses the old anti-slavery maxim-" If you want a thing, ask for it! If a thing is right and necessary, ask for it!" The motto to-day seems to be, "If you want a thing, don't ask for it! If a thing is necessary, don't mention i chise for the slave-it is needed-it is indispensable it is inevitable-but there is Blondin-don't speak to him! He may go over-take care! Mr. Lincoln stands there balanced, with the pole, on a rope. Keep mum, the nation! Well, Grant stands balanced on s rope; Lee is trying to pull him over. I never heard him compared to Blondin. Nobody ever said that he ought not to be advised. When Hooker stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When turnside stood on the rope, and did not succeed, we changed him. When McClellan got down from the rope, we thanked God and took conrage. (Great applause.) When Meade stood on the rope, and balanced pretty well, we changed him. [A Voice.-Who changed him ? | The President. The very man who says, "Don't change me!" (Tremendous applause.) Sigel, in the face of the enemy, meets with a reverse -" Change him! But I am sacred! Blondin, on a hair! Don't change me! (Laughter.) I am stooping down, with my left hand on the rope, to save with my right a clumsy rebel of New Orleans from sinking to the hell where he belongs. Don't think I shall go over! Oh, no; I am balanced—balanced exactly even!" But the question is whether he is well balanced, with his eye fixed upward. You know how the sailor walks a rope. You know the maxim. When you are among the shrouds, high up-a hundred feet -what does the seaman tell you? Never look down! While you keep your eye upward, you are safe!" The Abolitionist says to Lincoln—" Look up—to justice, to God, to the rights of every man under the law!" He is looking down at Kentucky, and I tremble for him. He will fall, sure as fate, for he is consulting his chances down at Baltimore, not justice overhead. That is the very reason I doubt him. I praised him as long as he seemed to carry on the war for the war's sake, for democracy's sake, for justice, to subjugate the rebel. He is carrying on the war now to re-elect himself, to conciliate the disloyal white man. (Applause and hisses.)

I am not at all surprised at those hisses. Ten years ago, when a Republican used to stand on this platform and rebuke us for some testimony against Webster, for some testimony against Clay, the outskirts and the gallery always applauded him, and our testimony was always hissed, from the same quarters, exactly. To-day, Mr. Lincoln is a popular, half-way man-holds power, patronage, the press, availability; no wonder that the same tier applauds him and hisses us; but our test is not up there.

Mr. May. That tier applauds your denunciation of Mr. Lincoln. Who are they, I should like to know? They are not Abolitionists; I doubt if they are Republicans. (Applause, and cries of "Good.")

Mr. PHILLIPS. There is Mr. May's mistake. He says I denounce President Lincoln. I do not denounce

Mr. May. Let me explain a moment, for I do not wish to be misrepresented. I say, that when Mr. Phillips says that the President is carrying on this war to elect himself, it is the worst denunciation he can heap upon him. (Great applause and throwing up of hats in the extreme seats.)

Mr. PHILLIPS. Your applause, Mr. May, comes from the same quarter that hisses me, the outskirts of the audience—the chance spectator; not from the body of the house where our Convention sits. Many challing these congratulatory resolutions for the uttraining dark and important truths. I do not believe
training do it. I have no idea that we shall. Let

ped was just to live meet their foes. It on, in the devotion of not think that their l in the history of the ING?

of what it calls " a

r, a placard said to an officer recruiting

rds: 'All slaves were oln, President of the Come, then, ablearest United States ripes.' On the other officer in epauletts, with his right hand, of the American figg. a nigger school-house niggers; the sigger per, a big nigger in go chains from the and a nigger regiment r is designedly undistrict 'United States lacard bears no name, e that the recruiting lat seeming to court it."

explained why this ll upon able-bodied ripes is certainly not the rebels at Richor of a man " strik-e and female slaves," end the flag of the ds out such induce. Ids out such induced in in a ruies "courts or ehend. We think, it does honor alike to be tempted to under the mere promise of als for their children.

EGROES FOR SOLrederalist, edited by the author, and pubclo, of this city, we to authors of the Fedoving colored troops, merican Revolution, as then for emancipatry,) was entertained ions, concurred in by strain distribution of the commendation of the com

nd that it cannot be blackest and most is only natural libersanctions of civil sovery excellent solto the President of ight to entertain for things that are found. an is to give thes

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imate their courage, influence upon those r to their emancipa-, has no small weight true policy equally unfortunate class of

E: TLAR LECTURE ON thor of "Woman's La-de. 16mo; paper, 35 he price.

I do not understand what the proposition means, & CO.,

that I have any peculiar pleasure in hearing that te

A Voice. The people don't say so.

single argument, the putting against it any other ar-

those seats to these chairs, and said to the men whom

you will elect Governors within three years, " Answer

to others-" Speak in defence of the Administration;"

We prefer silence." The Committee retired to

count the votes. That clock was to count an hour

before they came in. What do Conventions do ordi

C., " Entertain us; say something to us until the bus-

iness is over." What do you suppose we did? Took

a recess! (Laughter.) Voted to adjourn and remain in

our seats: and these gentlemen remained on the plat-

form, dumb! They let the record go. They had not

one word to answer. They are themselves to be can-

didates in their own Districts, this week, for delegates

to Baltimore. They saw no way to walk that would

not in these ticklish times jeopard their chances-and

so kept silent. They dare not risk the breaking of

their party. That may be good policy and excusa-

ble in politicians; but you and I have risked break

ing the Union, indeed for twenty years have sought

to break it, in the service of liberty. Why should I

shrink from the chance of breaking a corrupt party

saunder in the same service? I tell you-a truth I

know from many sources and the best private informa-

tion-these men do not believe in your President; and

your senseless clamor is what frightens them from the

avowal. (Hisses.) If Abraham Lincoln rules this na-

tion another four years, and it is ruled to any disaster,

remember, it will not be the fault of the copperheads

that he was elected: it will be the fault of the hundred

leaders of the Republican party, who, in their own

and avow it to their intimate friends, but do not dare

At this point in Mr. Phillips's speech, (it being quar-

ter past nine o'clock,) Mr. Garrison rose and said-

"Mr. President, I do not think that our friend Mr.

Phillips wishes to monopolize the hours of this short

evening, especially when, for every word that has been

said in favor of Mr. Lincoln, or even to modify the se

vere criticisms that have been made upon him, twenty

have been spoken at these meetings to his condemna

Mr. Phillips immediately took his seat, and Mr. Gar-

rison advanced to the desk, upon which a great

uproar arose, some of the audience calling vehe-

mently for Mr. Phillips, and others as vehemently for

Mr. Garrison, while applause and hisses on every sid

inceased the din. The disturbance continued for some

time, when, finally, Mr. Phillips stepped to the front,

and said-" Ladies and gentlemen, listen to me a sin-

thoroughly considered, and as well entitled to influ-

ence your judgment, as my own-perhaps more so;

SPEECH OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

py your time as long as he has, and my friend. Mr.

of us, it would bring us near to midnight; and I know

the last thing my friend Phillips would wish to de

would be to monopolize the time, especially to the ex-

Now in regard to the noble friend who is to follow

hompson, should follow, and speak as long as either

for I hope they are right, and that I am wrong."

him of the lateness of the hour; for if I sho

magnanimous for that. .

gle moment. I was entirely unaware that I had taken

hearts look upon his renomination as a public calar

say it to the public. (Applause.)

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since. We were at that period a pro-slavery nation, er he lives or not, as Secretary of War, I think the since was no wish that the Prosident of the slave issue is certain—I have no doubt of that. The difficulty I find is to know how to answer my

I am in love with paying taxes ? You do not suppose friend.-he is so inconsistent, as it seems to me, in his thousand men lost their lives yesterday? You do not suppose that I have any peculiar dislike of this nation, as a unit, when I look upon it as the sheetanchor and guaranty of the freedom of that race to which the labor of my life has been devoted? All I want is success. All I seek is the right means to get he is a traitor. Now he is anxious to see the rebellion crushed, liberty triumphant, and the Union re-I say again, look to your President. ask Governstored; and now he does not want the rebellion put ors, Senators, Representatives, who come close up to down, or the rebels hurt. Now he is ahead of the him-I cannot; you cannot; we stand here outside people; and now he is not only not up with them, but the ring-I ask the men who sit down at his side; who far behind them-actually false to his trust, and, to se. have been concerned with him in legislation for three cure his reëlection, is willing to sacrifice any amount years; who have watched his words, leaped or cowerof treasure, any amount of human life, in conducting the war! Sir, if what my friend accuses him of is ed under his acts. I take a score of them, the tallest, the ablest, and I say to them, " What is your privatetrue, then Abraham Lincoln deserves to be impeached sincere, inside opinion on the subject of Mr. Lincoln's renomination?" "Our conviction is, that it would as a traitor, and punished accordingly. (Applause, and cries of "That's so.")

Mr. Phillips says that I claimed for Mr. Lincoln be a great calamity to this nation." (Applause and

hisses.) Then I say to them, "Why don't you say that he had exceeded public sentiment on the subject of slavery. So I did; so I believe; and I have very good authority for thinking so-the authority of my Mr. PHILLIPS. I know it. They don't let the peo eloquent friend himself! (Applause and laughter.) ple know the facts; they don't let the people know Yes, Mr. President, at the very time when, as he now their opinions. A week ago yesterday I sat in yontells us, the nation was hot with radical Abolitionism, der seat, and this platform was crowded with the leadand ready for any governmental measure to destroy ing Republicans of Massachusetts; the men who, for slavery, root and branch, Abraham Lincoln transcentwenty years, have held the best offices in the State; ded its most advanced state!

the men on whose lips thousands have hung delighted As my speech is to be largely made up of quotation om the various speeches of Mr. Phillips, I will now for the last quarter of a century; the men, who, united, their opinion is law in the politics of the Comask the attention of the audience to them. Here is monwealth. I arraigned before them, as I have to one from his speech delivered in this Temple, January day, on the same grounds, the expediency of re-nominating Mr. Lincoln. I waited to hear one single word

"I have not a word even of doubt for the incoming President of Illinois. I believe that, like an honorable man, he means to keep, and has told his friends to say that he means to keep in office the promises that were made for him in the canvass; and while Abraham Lincoln lives—and, in spite of the rage of the men South of Mason and Dixon's line, he will live to be buried in the gratitude of the North, twenty or forty years hence—while he lives and dictates law to this country from the White House at Washington, as he will, or of answer-the denial of a single statement, the impeachment of a single fact, the taking to pieces of a gument, the countervailing one fact by another-and they were dumb. Some of the people went up from from the White House at Washington, as he will, on the 5th day of March—and if it cannot be done otherwise, Illinois will cover every square foot of the District with a living man and a Republican—while he lives. I have faith to believe that a cover every square foot of the District with a living man and a Republican—while he lives. I have faith to believe that a cover in the second of the the seco him:" and the reply was "We can't." They went nives, I have tath to believe that no one order of grass, not one atom of the soil of the Territories, will be possened by the footsteps of even the compromise of a stace. The votes of eighteen hundred thousand freemen send Abraham Lincoln to Washington to do their bidding, narily on such occasions, when the platform is crowded with speakers? They say to Mr. A., or Mr. B., or Mr. AND IT WILL BE DONE.

> Here is an extract from his speech delivered at Music Hall, April 21, 1861 :-

"I have always believed in the sincerity of Abraham Lincoln. You have heard me express my confidence in it every time I have spoken from this desk. I only doubted sometimes whether he were really the head of the Government. To-day, he is at any rate commander-in-chief. The delay in the action of the government has doubtless been a necessity, but policy also. Traitors within and without made it hesitate to move till it bed tried the machine of government inst given I attors within and without made it nestate to move till it had tried the machine of government just given it. But delay was wise, as it matured a public opinion, definite, decisive, and ready to keep step to the music of the government march. The very postponement of another session of Congress till July 4th, plainly invited liversion—oxidantly contemplates the riponinvites discussion—evidently contemplates the ripen-ing of public opinion in the interval. * * * The nected its courage or its integrity; but the cannon thas opened the only door out of this hour. There but two. One was Compromise, the other was o. One was Compromise, the other was integrity of the North closed the first the generous forbearance of nineteen States closed the other. The South opened this with cannon shot, and Lincoln shows himself at the door. (Applause.)

* * The Administration that preceded this was full of traitors and thieves. It allowed the arms, ships ney, military stores of the North to be stolen with punity. Mr. Lincoln took office, robbed of all the must to defend the Constitutional rights of the governed. stration is all right.

I beg special attention to the following extract from Mr. Phillips's speech at Framingham, July 4th, 1861. "What do I ask of the government? I do not ask announce a policy of emancipation now; it is not enough to do it. We can announce it; the people strong enough to do it. We can announce it; the people can discuss it; THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO ANNOUNCE IT. I do not care whether it means it or not; IT WERE UTTER RUIN TO ANNOUNCE IT NOW. * An honest Administration, on thonest President, stands hesistating, distrusting the strength of the popular feeling behind him. * Abraham Lincoln, Salmon P. Chase, Montgomery Blair, have not the heart nor the wish to thrust back into the held of Virginia slavery one single contraband article in Fortress Monroe. They never will do it. * * My seeling they form in the property of policy, therefore, is, give the Administration generous sympathy; give it all the confidence for honesty of purpose you can. They mean now only the Union; but they are willing we should make them mean anything more we please. Abraham Lincoln means to do his Constitutional duty in the crisis. I have faith in his honesty."

up so much of the time of the meeting. My friend Mr. Garrison and my friend Mr. Thompson are both Bear with me while I read somewhat copiously to follow me, and I beg you will remember that the from a lecture delivered by Mr. Phillips before the evening belongs to them as much as to me. Listen Fraternity Association in Tremont Temple, in April, to the expression of their opinions,-perfectly honest,

"I certainly owe great thanks, to you and the Fra-"I certainly owe great thanks, to you and the Fraternity, who have given me the opportunity to speak to-night, marked as the present week is by one of the greatest events in the history of the progressive movement. For the first time in sixty years, the flag of the Republic floats over a Capital untrodden by a slave. For the first time, the constituted authorities of the nation make one step toward that great motto—"Freedom National"—and give us a Capital without a chain. (Cheers.) Neither you nor I could naturally have expected to live to see that result. Not the most sanguine of us could have hoped that any means he Mr. President, I did not wish my friend to retire so abruptly from the stand. I rose respectfully to remind guine of us could have hoped that any means he could call into exercise would so far prevail against the seeming interest and the well-anchored institutions of the country as to consecrate even the District to liberty in our day. We have lived to see so much. clusion of any man from whom he differs; he is too In a nation that moves so fast as we do, it gives us good hope that those are yet living, in middle life, within these walls, who shall see the whole continent, so far at least as it acknowledges the stars and stripes, clean and free from the fetter of a slave. Applause.)

me. Mr. Phillips has undertaken to impeach his ability to judge of the condition of our country at this time, and two years ago, with discrimination and accuracy. I will venture to say, that Wendell Phil. I come back to you to night, as I went away six weeks ago, persuaded that slavery on this continent has begun the chapter which records its death. I have no doubt of it. You may see it in the disposilips himself does not understand the Anti-Slavery cause any better, nor the state of public sentiment i our country, for the last thirty years, more intelligenttions of the people; you may see it in the policy of the nation; you may see it, I think, in the intentions of its satesmen. But whether you do or not, I care little for intentions to-day. No matter what you mean or ly and minutely, than George Thompson of England. (Applause.) His judgment, therefore, is not to be apeached in this matter. He has never shown him-Washington means, or what the people of the West mean to day. When I see a man half-way Niagara, I don't ask his intentions—he will self at fault; he has always kept pace with us, had his hand on the national pulse and national heart, and down Niagara, I don't ask his intentions—he will go down. (Applause.) Events—most encouraging events—thicken all around us, showing that by all marked all the elements of public sentiment in relathe elements which go to make up national life, the death of the slave system is decreed, and is scaled. I find great encouragement everywhere. I find it in the disposition of the President. I believe he means what he position of the President. I believe he means what he said to the Border State Senators and Representatives when, at the announcement of his message, he summoned them to his presence—"Gentlemen, don't talk to me about slavery; you love it; I hate it. You mean it shall live: I mean it shall dive." ean it shall die!'

man on the continent who deserves bleon for the exigency. But wheth-

tion to slavery in our country. Sir, to declare that, in 1861 and '62, there was a universal sentiment in favor of abolition, radical abolition, the abolitionism of Wendell Phillips, and that the people were all ready for it, is preposted end believe it for a moment? [Mr. PHIL-LIPS-Certainly.) Why, if that be true, there never was such a marvellous conversion since the world bemean it shall live; I m applause.) I think if he lacks any thing, it is neither intention nor capacity—he has enough of both for his function—but will; power to bear up against external influences—temptations that make him timid, protests that make him dawding, adverse circumstances that make him have confident for more than the control of the gan! (Applause.) What converted them? The people all ready, in '61 and '62, to grapple with slavery for its instant extermination by the government, that make him dawdling, adverse cureumonths on make him very cautious, spending four months on one message. But I believe he has all he lacks in his one message. But I believe he has all he lacks in his and also to put the ballot into the hand of every emancipated slave in the land! who believes it? My friend says he does. Then what has changed them? one message. But I believe he has all he lacks in his Cabinet, which consists of one man, single and alone, flt to bear up, like Atlas, a nation—Stanton. (Applause.) I recognize in the Cabinet no will but the Secretary of War. I think him the right yoke-fellow of the President—supplying all he lacks. The two make a working pair, competent for all the nation needs. "You will flight, you will tell why not, or you will go out"—that is the key-note of the Secretary of Mark you !- an abolitionized North in 1861 and '62 ready to carry out all my friend now desires; and now everything is reversed because Abraham Lincoln has proved recreant to his trust! What sort of abo "You will fight, you will tell why not, or you will go out"—that is the key note of the Secretary of War. "Why can't I have a court martial to try Fremont?" says Col. Blair. "Because I am too busy to wash your dirty linen." (Applause.) That is the locomotive on the rail—nothing but one purpose to move forward; and if cannon does not crush the rebellion, abolition will. I don't think the Secretary is an Abolitionist to-day, but he is on the anxious seat (laughter); and if, in the Providence of God, South Carolina and President Davis hold out until November, I have no doubt we shall have an Abolitionist for Secretary of War. (Applause.) My faith, therefore, in the man is sufficient. I don't think he has gone out, as the papers say. If he has, we have lost the cornerstone of success. A year of sacrifices would be nothing to the sacrifice of "the right man in the right place"—the only man on the continent who deserves the name of a Napoleon for the exigency. But whethlitionism is that? Our cause gone behind? When did it ever go backward from the hour it was launched? Nay, God has been with it from the beginningmarching on." In went on in 1861, in 1862, in 1863, and is going on in 1864, and will continue to go on God leading and blessing it, to final victory.

My friend ingeniously dwells upon and makes the most of a single incidental fact, that when Fremont's Proclamation was put forth, it was generally and warmly approved-even the New York Herald affected to regard it with approbation, and also the Boston Post. Now, I do not recollect that any other papers in the country, of the Democratic stamp, endorsed it. From that hour, the Copperhead ele ment began to work, and has been working ever

THE LIBERATOR.

You know the boast of Toombs, that he would call treatment of Mr. Lincoln. Now the President is an unqualifiedly honest man. (Loud applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, you supposed that was my eulogy; I was giving it as Mr. Phillips's. Then he is an honest man, in the Kentucky sense; then he is a very dishonest man. Now he is thoroughly loyal; and now the court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmont of the was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death is the barmon's a first court hoase in which he was doomed to death in the roll of his slaves on Banker Hill. I have lived to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the "sacred soil" of Virginia, and the court hoase in which he was downed to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the "sacred soil" of Virginia, and the court hoase in which he was downed to death in the roll of his slaves on Banker Hill. I have lived to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the "sacred soil" of Virginia, and the roll of his slaves on Banker Hill. I have lived to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the was regiment on the roll of the roll of his slaves on Banker Hill. I have lived to hear the roll-call of a Massachusetts regiment on the was regi racks of a Massachusetts regiment. Who dreamed, a year ago, when those gallant boys hurried to save the Capital, that emancipation would be decreed in the District to-day, with Baltimore sullen under the portholes of Northern cannon, and with Northern regiments holding Virginia under their feet? Yet so it But still I do not think the act abolishing slavery in

But still I do not think the act abolishing slavery in the District, broad and marked as it is, is so significant as the Message of the President. After all, the President is ahead of the manifestations of the opinion of the people. He holds out his hands to the millions analys, 'Support me!' We have not yet answered him officially. That Message of his is the boldeat voice yet heard over the continent. It means more than men accord to it. He claims that, and claims it rightly. May I tell you a slory?—he always tells one. (Laughter.) Noticing some criticisms upon his ne. (Laughter.) Noticing some criticisms upon his fessage, he said, "There is more in it than people Message, he said, "There is more in it than people see. Did you ever hear of the Irishman who went down to the State of Maine, in Maine Liquor Law times, and asked for a glass of soda-water, adding, 'Couldn't you put a drap of the crather in it, unbeknown to meself?' So I have put a large drop of the crather in it, unbeknown to them." [Laughter and bstantially this: Gentlemen, I put down a milestone day. I show you how far twelve months have car day. I show you how in a territory of State's letto Mr. Dayton. Government sent that letter to
ris; Congress passed the celebrated resolution that
by would never be led to interfere with slavery in month sweeps what you can refer say I did not give you fair notice. (Applause.) That is one half the Message; the other half is an arrow's flight beyond even that, for it says this—"Gentlemen, if you will sell I will buy." What means that? Where in the I will buy." What means that? Where in the Constitution, in peace times, does he find the right to buy? Has he forgotten Clay and Webster, and the Resolutions of '90, that the Congress of the United States cannot cross the boundary of a State to interfere with the system of slavery? His Message says "Gentleanen, I will buy." In other words, "you have given me the right to buy; the rebellion confers upon me the right to buy." And he goes on to say, "The abolition of slavery would be an efficient means of ending this war; if I find cannon unsuccessful. I shall try other efficient means." In you live to hear them from the head of the government. For the first time in the history of the gov ernment, it has done an anti-slavery act, it has spoker an anti-slavery word. (Applause.) Sufficient year! Enough to have gained in twelve months! has ample reason to be satisfied accomplished in this single year

Lincoln is ahead of anything you have said. What he wants is an endorsement and an enc What the Senate want is a policy pronounced by the

Now see what my friend said in that lecture co cerning the wish of Mr. Lincoln for anti-slavery agitation, to strengthen his hands in carrying on the struggle with the Slave Power in arms :-

"The President said to a leading Republican of No York—'Why don't you hold meetings' (it was two days before that glorious Convention' in New York days before that glorious Convention' in New York which Carl Schurz made immortal by his great speech)

—'Why don't you hold meetings, and let me feel the mind of the nation?' 'Sir,' was the reply, 'we are to hold them; we hold one to-morrow.' 'Hold them of ten; hold many of them; hold as many as possible. You canhot create more anti-slavery feeling than we shall need before we get through this war.' (Apphause.) In other words, the President holds out his hands to the people and leaves. (Am Light? How for many Lov?' words, the President house out his names to the peo-ple, and says, 'Am I right? How far may I go?' Answer him. Tell him the ice is thick thus far, and will be thicker an arrow's flight ahead. Tell him that if his Message to the Border States leads you to say Amen, a message to the Gulf States that says Liberty will have a tenfold Amen. (Loud applause.) In one sense, we demand too much of the government-Senate and the Cabinet. They are the only portion the government that have definite ideas, but the

Now, what I claim of you, I claim in behalf of you own leaders. The President says to his New York friends, 'Support me!' Where is the support from Bos-ton? Your merchants ask the removal of Mr. Secre-Welles, and all Washington says he is not in fault, it is McClellan. Your merchants can find faul -why don't they express approval of the President's Message? If the Tariff or Bank were at issue, we should have public meetings, and delegations of leading men sent to Washington. Even now you meet their influential men striving to mould the Tax bill. Why does no voice go up from Boston, from Fancuil Hall, from the State House for LUNDAY as the wish of Massage. ise, for LIBERTY as the wish of Massa chusetts? How long is the North to wait without leader? My message to you to night is—SPEAK!
The President holds out his hand. Take it. Assure
him that he has in Massachusetts more than military
support.

I want a voice from the Legislature; I want a voice rom the Exchange; I want a voice from Faneuil Hal If you do not give it, you are deserting the place of Massachusetts in this struggle, which is to lead. The West looks to you; the South looks to you. The Massachusetts regiments are the worst treated, Massachusetts soldiers are the most bated, because they are recognized as the most fixed in their purpose. Show it to be the same in politics as on the field. Encourage it to be the same in politics as on the field. Encourag the President to enlarge his Border State Message encourage Mr. Stanton, his whole Cabinet, to say within six months—'Death to every institution that makes war upon the Republic, and liberty to every man under its flag!'" (Prolonged applause.)

Now, observe-these admissions that the Presiden was ahead of public sentiment, even in Massachusetts -that there were no anti-slavery manifestations on th part of "leading men, legislative bodies, official corporations," &c., &c.-that Faneuil Hall was dumb, and the State House quiescent-were made at the time Mr. Phillips now declares was signalized by popula anti-slavery feeling and purpose, while the President was for holding back !

Now, sir, I could read by the hour just such extract as these, but I have read quite enough for my purpose-to show that my friend stands in a position thoroughly paradoxical, and, as it seems to me. inconsistent in this matter. (Applause.) For, if these things could be truly said of Mr. Lincoln at the time they were uttered, before an emancipation policy was inaugurated, how much more does the the President deserve the sympathy, commendation and support of Abolitionists now, after so many grand event transpired under his administration, all tending in the direction of universal emancipation! (Applause.)

As to his Cabinet, I will tell you an asecdote which I read the other day, and thought a pretty good one Some one, sympathizing with my friend, went to Washington, and said to Mr. Lincoln-" Sir, you mus get rid of Seward-threw him overboard." Seward," said the President, "is Secretary of State. He conducts the diplomacy of the country. Have you read his diplomatic correspondence?" Sir!" " Have you any fault to find with it?" Sir!" "Well, sir, he is my clerk; I got him for that purpose." "Well, but you should throw Blair overboard." "Sir, Mr. Blair is Postmaster General. Do you get your papers and letters regularly ?" "Yes, S Well, sir, he is my clerk for that purpose; and I

am President of the United States." (Applause.) Now, I say this : that Mr. Lincoln has never made at ent which did not meet the acceptance of all the loval and all the anti-slavery sentiment of the country at the time-never! (Applause.) For instance -they were well satisfied with the Cabinet, when it was first appointed, almost precisely as it stands to-day. If you say, "Well, see what it is to-day;" I answer, per that Cabinet has worked with the President of

come the non-fulfillment of my prophecy than I shall.

I shall be delighted if this war is finished in the year, thoroughly finished, before Mr. Lincoln enters upon his second term, if he has one. You do not suppose that upon him now to do.

The democratic principle, as an element of the same to fast for any individual to resist them. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish, slavery, they cannot save it. The nation may abolish slavery is local in the people have a right to serve in the people have a right to be regarding the people have a right to serve in the serve in the people have a right to serve in the serve in the serve is the people have a right to serve in the serve in the serve in the serve in the serve is the people have a right to serve in the ser he has done all these magnificent acts alone, and there-fore the Cabinet does not control him. (Applause.) ment of government, is world-wide. That battle is

> make indefinite charges. The air is full of them; but how little evidence is adduced, after all, to prove Mr. Seward to have done anything very calpable! As to South. He was ready to stand by the Constitution, Montgomery Blair, it is true he went to Concord, New as interpreted since the days of Washington. He was Hampshire, a year ago, and there made a foolish and pledged only to the securing of freedom for the terrireprehensible speech, placing himself in a most ridicu- tories. On that issue the slave oligarchy threw down lous attitude in regard to colonizing the colored people the gauge of battle, and the war commenced. They of our country. He did it on his own responsibility, and it fell flat to the ground. But, since that time, he President in all the South; and up to this hour they has done two things that ought to be remembered. He have made their defiant declaration good. The rehas said of the President's Emancipation Proclamation, public is still rent asunder. Abraham Lincoln is not, that by no act of Congress, by no decision of the Suand has not been President of the United States. preme Court, nor by any power under heaven, can that (Mr. FOSTER-" He never will be.") So say the reband be carried out to the letter. (Applause.) Then he has been down to Baltlmore, with Secretary Chase, politician; I am no voter; but I say this: If I were making anti-slavery speeches to the people to induce a voter on the democratic principle, I would vote for them to vote for delegates to a State Convention, on this coming Fourth of July, to proclaim immediate no longer—eight years, ten years, twenty years, forty emancipation in Maryland. Is not that something to years, if he and I lived so long-vote until I had made his credit? And yet we have been told that he has him the confessed President of the United States. bought an interest in the Baltimore Clipper, for the (Prolonged applause.) And I do not hesitate to say, purpose (among other things) of preventing emanci- that if the party which elected him to be President,have thus deceitfully acted; but I am not willing to do not see to it that he is again elected, and duly believe it without stronger evidence. I take his pub- recognized as the Chief Magistrate of all the States private gossip on this occasion to influence my decis- perfidy and flagrant ingratitude. (Lond applause.)

feebleness of body and his great age, it was necessary thusiastic applause.) As to Gen. Fremont, erous and forbearing, and the President was equally overboard. (Loud applause.)

put down; and that he expressly employed McClellan man" in the next election, who is to run Abraham Lin did my friend say when McClellan was at the head of whose names appear on that call; for the man who the reason we did not go ahead ! (Renewed laughter.) am willing to wait as long as any man for the drill of of political weight in this country. (Applause.) General McClellan. I am willing to wait until he has made an army as perfect as that of the great Napoleon.' Well, that certainly was a very great indulgence! Let not the President be upbraided because he also was willing to "possess his soul in patience" for so desira-

When, at last, General McClellan was dismissed. what patriotic soul did not rejoice that Burnside was mand every thing that is just, as of old. Yet we are placed in command ? Did not the President come up to high-water mark in popular feeling, in making this appointment? Well, after an unsuccessful experiment, Burnside resigned, and gave place to "Fighting Joe Hooker." Was he not entirely acceptable at the time ? Did not the people have unbounded faith in Joe Hooker, that he would "carry the battle to the gate? he, too, failed-though, like Burnside, not for lack of loyalty or bravery. Then, true to the country and to the cause of liberty, the President next tried Gen. Meade; and the appointment was hailed with universal satisfaction. Having given him also a fair trial, and seen that he was not competent to manage so large an army, at last he makes Gen. Grant Commander-in-Chief. (Loud applause.) Could he have done bet-

I say, therefore, that all along, in every importan military and civil appointment, particularly as pertainng to the Cabinet and the management of the army, Mr. Lincoln has been up to the highest loyal, the highest anti-slavery sentiment of the country. And, sureand escape it.

accidents of the hour. For one, as an Abolitionist, as a tency-and therein he has doubted my right-to form slave, I will judge by a test which I know to be infallible, whether I should give my sympathy and best other means of forming a judgment, I have had the wishes to President Lincoln; and I hesitate not to benefit of listening to three or four speeches from my declare that, on the whole, politically speaking, the friend-from whose former speeches I had learned to people cannot do better, in my judgment, than to reelect him for four years longer. (Tremendous applause, have learnt from those later speeches is, that Mr. renewed again and again.) I say it, because the great issue between liberty and slavery was made upon "the rail-splitter." It was against him, as the symbol and sign of liberty, that a haughty and tyrannical slave oligarchy rose in rebellion, and attempted to throttle him out of existence; and, Sir, while those who are for eternal slavery at the South are in bloody revolt against Abraham Lincoln, solely to preserve tracted them from the papers in which they have aptheir accursed institution, and while every thing at the North that is pro-slavery or treasonable is full of deadly enmity to him for that reason, I want nothing more to determine my judgment in regard to Abram Lincoln. (Loud applause.) I know that, to complete the work of impartial freedom, many things yet remain to be done; but these, I believe, will be duly attended to. The iceberg from the Arctic ocean is nearly melted in the Gulf Stream; and it cannot be long before it will be wholly dissolved. Only last year my friend Phillips said, with express reference to the re-election of Abraham Lincoln :-

"I, for one, have no objection to the Presidency "I, for one, have no objection to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln for four or eight years longer. I told the President himself—and I believed it then, and I believe it now; I meant it then, and I mean it now—that the man who would honestly put his hand to the plow of that proclamation, and execute it, this people would not allow to quit while the experiment was trying. Whoever starts the great experiment of emanipation, and honestly devotes his energies to making it a fact, deserves to hold the helm of government till that experiment is finished." (Great applause.)

One thing more. The democratic principle, that so far as it relates to Mr. Lincoln. I was wrong when

I care not which horn of the dilemma is taken.

Sir, it is very easy to thrust at different members of the Cabinet—to excite unfounded suspicions, and to Kentucky railsplitter, was elected, by a constitutional is my admiration of the zeal and fidelity displayed. rociamation ever be legally cancelled; it must stand, els; and, so far, they have prevented the democratic oation in Maryland! All that is possible. He may he having been faithful to it in every particular,lic, recorded acts, and do not feel willing to allow any from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it will be guilty of But the people understand this. Never, since the Again I say-that, in regard to all his prominent days of George Washington, has there been such a military appointments, the President has acted up to all that loyalty and that abolitionism asked at his has been given for Abraham Lincoln. Already, hands. Both were satisfied, first with General Scott nineteen out of the twenty-two States left to us have, -a veteran in the service-as commander-in-chief of by their Legislatures or State Conventions, UNANIthe army, until it became evident that, through his MOUSLY renominated him for the Presidency. (Ento make a change. Then Gen. McClellan was appoint. Convention is to come off at Cleveland in a few daysed; and I ask you if he was not heartily welcomed by how is he backed up?-by what sort of political influall classes as "the coming man?" (Mr. FOSTER- ence? If he is going to run Mr. Lincoln off the track, 'No; never.") Was there any party feeling shown he ought to have some political strength to show. Obagainst him? On the contrary, was there not universal serve, I am saying nothing in disparagement of Gen. confidence in his military ability and thorough loyalty? Fremont. Nobody has ever heard me speak of him, And so the people waited three months, six months, except in high approbation, beyond anything I have nine months, a whole year, without indulging in sharp criticism or doubt of his fidelity. Something prevented action here, something there; now the weather ceed the President. But, "before you cook your was unpropitious, now something else. We were gen. fish, you must catch it;" and, I repeat it, before you can hope to overturn Abraham Lincoln, you must so-all the while, however, in his private corres. show at least some political strength, because the time pondence, urging him to lose no time, but to move for effort is short. Abraham Lincoln shows nineteen ith all possible celerity-of course modestly deferring States. Gen. Fremont, as yet, has not shown a sinto his judgment as the commander of the army at the gle State, a single county, a single town or hamlet time. But, when endurance had passed its bounds, in his support. Who represents him from Massachuso that even the malignity of copperheadism should setts, on the call for the Cleveland Convention ? Two be silenced, the President made McClellan walk the men, both non-voters, I believe, and neither of them plank; and all loyal men were thankful when he went has a particle of political influence? Now I call that the step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Is My friend Phillips, has made the astounding asser- that the best Massachusetts can do for Fremont? tion, that Mr. Lincoln does not want this rebellion For, remember, I am speaking now of the "coming as his tool, so that no harm should come to the reb- coln off the track. If I were speaking on a moral issue, I els! O, that is a fearful change! A tool, was he? What should speak in a very different manner of those the army? "I look upon the Cabinet and the President stands alone in a moral cause, though all the world as absorbed, swallowed up, hidden, by Gen. McClel- be against him, if God be for him, stands in a majorlan." What, a tool absorbing, swallowing up those ity, and is conqueror. But when you came to politics, who use it! (Laughter.) "There is no living man," that is another sphere. Then you must have men ned my friend at the time, "in the Government and money; then you must have votes; then you but McClellan." All defunct but him, and that was must have something of political influence and respectability. But, with one exception, the signers to the As to General McClellan, my friend Phillips said- I call for the Cleveland Convention have not one ounce

Mr. President, we are getting on well. have all our friends contend for, in the end. There is no difference among us in this respect. We all go for equal rights, without regard to race or color. We have not relaxed our vigilance or our testimony; and I am sorry to hear any intimation thrown out, that we do not call for the amplest justice. Sir. we defull of hope; we take courage from the signs of the times; and we rejoice to believe—as evidence of our ultimate triumph, that, in the rude language of the contraband song-

"De massa run—ha, ha! De darkies stay, ho, ho! It must be now de kingdom's comin',

(Loud and prolonged applause.) SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

The President has appointed me to do that which it is not unusual to do at the close of a public meeting-to pronounce the benediction, and I will emleavor. in the few remarks I have to make, not to go far beyond the performance of that function. My friend, Mr. Phillips, in the speech he has deliv-ered to-night, has referred to something said by me

at the sitting of the Convention in this place this morning. Permit me to say that, in what I then uttered, I was prompted, nay, rather, impelled by sense of justice to one to whom I considered justice y, it is not for him to dismiss from office men entrust- had not been done by the gentlemen who had ed with great responsibilities without fairly putting criticized his public acts. In what I then said, I their qualities to the test. When mighty armies are to had no intention to influence the minds of those be disciplined, time is needed; and who shall tell pre- whom I addressed, in reference to their future concisely how long? Let us charitably remember that the duct, touching the pending Presidential election. President had a very difficult task to perform. Re- cooke as I did, because I thought that, equally with member how formidable was and is the copperhead element of the North; and that General McClellan ultimately proved himself to be the idol of everything and because, after a patient, candid and critical study factious at the North. Now, to have dismissed him of his administration of the national affairs, I had without the greatest forbearance and the fullest proof come to a conclusion the opposite of that which had of his incompetency might have imperilled the very been arrived at by some of my friends. This being existence of the government. His dismissal almost the case, I felt that I should be false to my own conoverturned the government when it did take place. victions, and unjust towards the party who had been The Government came as near destruction as it could, assailed, if I did not rise, and as an Englishman and an abolitionist, give my testimony in favor of Presi-Now I say, we should judge of this matter broadly dent Lincoln. (Applause.) My eloquent friend who and considerately, and not by the petty incidents or has addressed us this evening has doubted my compe lover of liberty, as the friend and advocate of the a just and enlightened opinion respecting the merits of the present administration. Well, in addition to my trust, admire and love your President-and all that I Lincoln is the head of "an imbecile, weak-minded, and worse-hearted administration." This is all that I have learnt since I came to America. (Applause.) Few men are better acquainted with the splefidid orations which my friend has delivered during the last twenty-five years, than I am. As far as they have been reported, I have seen them, studied them, expeared, classified and indexed them, and I could have compiled from them many volumes as large as that which has recently been published. I know, there fore, all he has said respecting the man whose re-election to office he now so strenuously opposes. But I will not use those speeches to crush my friend under the weight of the eulogiums he has in times past pro nounced upon Mr. Lincoln. I would, however, advise him to do what Sir James Graham did in the House of Commons, when he was about to advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws-laws which he had down to that time, earnestly defended. Observing that many of the members of the House had in their hands volumes of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, and were ready to reply to him with quotations from his former speeches, he said, "Gentlemen, you may save yourselves the trouble of refering to those books for I was all wrong when I said what you will find there, but I am going to say what is right now." So, I think my friend might say to Mr. Garrison, I have done with that volume which you hold in your hand,

I said those things of him in former years, but I an right now. I once thought him honest, just-m weak-headed and worse-hearted?" Yet, deep as my sorrow—the deeper still, if the accusations I is my admiration of the zeal and fidelity displayed by my friend, even in what appears to me his ency, in the cause of that injured race whose rights he thinks are disregarded by those whose cond now so sternly attacks. I know the motive which actuates my friend, and I honor it, though I cannot agree with him in his strictures upon the motivo acts of others. I must be permitted to say, that the most unquestionable evidence should be fort in support of the charges which have been bro against Mr. Lincoln. If they can be proved, not on is Mr. Lincoln utterly unworthy to he deserves to be impeached at the bar of the 8 ate; for he is a traitor of the worst stamp, and should be hurled by the people, whose basely betrayed, from the office he has so guilting prostituted, and consigned for ever to the crime so justly merits. (Applause.) Indie like those to which I have listened are not to be got rid of by saying they are brought for the purpose of damaging Mr. Lincoln, in order that some other and better man may be put in his place. I must kna whether they are true or false. Whether Mr. Lia. coln is, what I have believed him to be, an hones man; or what he is now represented to be, a perjan ed villain. I, like my friend, have lived and labored to demand justice for the slave. I demand justice for Mr. Lincoln, who is as much entitled to it as it black man. (Prolonged applause.) Justice is one justice is impartial: justice is ment that has led me to vindicate the rights of slave, leads me to night to vindicate the Mr. Lincoln to a fair and equitable judgmen his conduct as President of the United State am conscious of my inferiority to my friend. a public speaker I feel dwarfed in his presence I am destitute of his wonderful faculty of imaginar and of that power of memory which ena use all he ever read for the purpose of illustrating the subject on which he is speaking; yet, so conam I of the injustice of the ac brought against Mr. Lincoln, and of my ability to re pel those accusations, that, with all my deficiencies and infirmities, I am willing to join issue with him. and, on this or any other platform, to debate the question, face to face, and foot to foot. (Enthusiasis

cheers.) My friend despairs of the future of his country should Mr. Lincoln be elected to serve the second Why, only this afternoon, when looking into a relume of my friend's speeches, I read one of ever see in the Broadway-you may in Naples a black figure grinding chocolate in the window He seems to turn the wheel, but the wheel turns him Now such is the President of the United States." this be so, then why blame the automaton, when fault is in the machinery ? If newspapers are butth safety valves through which the sentiments of the people escape; if public men are but like the van on the church steeples, which show the direction in which the wind is blowing; if the President on 'reigns," and the people really "govern," let the people and not the President be blamed, if all is not one that ought to be done. (Applause.) During the sittings of the Convention, I ha

neard it said by some who have labored long and well, and are still laboring faithfully, in the cause the slave, that certain amongst the old abolitionis are deserting from the radical principles which they to this building, I rushed across the street to gre two esteemed friends with whom I have had the hon or to travel and cooperate in years long past. One them said to me, "I fear you are be tive. My prayer morning and evening is, that I ma preserve my radicalism green and fresh, and not subject with declining years to the infirmity of co servatism." That I am growing old, I know; be that I am less radical in my anti-slavery ideas I has yet to learn. I have yet to learn, too, that radicalist is incompatible with a knowledge and just seprecis tion of the difficulties and responsibilities of official station. If I have said any thing about the coming Presidential election, it has been because-as Falstaff said of rebellion-" It came in my way and l found it." I found that some amongst my old and long-tried friends believed that the most effectua means of promoting the anti-slavery cause was to de stroy the present administration; and having an equally strong, but very different opinion on that subject, I have taken the liberty to state it. If my friends really doubt my radicalism, let them put in to the test. What is it they would do in the way of giving the black man his rights that I would not do What great principle do they contend for, that I and those who differ from them do not hold ! The fact is, that though we may disagree about men and meat onr principles, our object, our aims and our apprations are the same. While my friends, who think me less radical than themselves, are laboring for the equal rights of the black man, they may command e to the utmost extent of my very limited strength. (Applause.)

While I do not agree with some of them with n gard to the merits of the present administrat not the less, on that account, respect the motives white ctuate them, which is, that of a desire to see slave utterly extirpated, and the black man put into full pa session of his rights. If my dear and honorable frie Mr. Phillips really thinks-notwithstanding what he has said of the chocolate grinder-that, in the erest the reciection of Mr. Lincoln, "Ichabod "may be write ten upon the republic, it is his right and his duty say so, and so seek to avert the catastrophe. But he will not, I am sure, blame those of acontrary oph if, after he has emptied his quiver-no, that is perer xhausted-if, after he has spent hours in bringing the heaviest accusations against the President and his Cabinet, they rise for the purpose of placing a plain facts over against his many assertion not think, even were some of the allegations the evils foretold by Mr. Phillips would nee come to pass, were Mr. Lincoln to be placed time in the Presidential Chair. I have faith it and in the awakening conscience of twenty of the people. Even should Mr. Lincoln be believe the Republic would survive. (Appla believe anti slavery principle would survive, an active and as potent as ever. I believe the Old G instead of laying down their weapons, would, if get sary, polish and sharpen them anew for the

My friend has told us, to night, of fort nembers of Congress who have no confid Lincoln; who desire a change of administration nevertheless, are afraid to say so. He has also, of a hundred men belonging to this Co wealth, who lately listened to his charges again Lincoln, but had not the courage either to deny them; yet these, he says, were leading po -the elite of the unionism, and loyalty, and re ism, and political anti-slavery of the State heard his arraignment of the President and his ers, but their lips were scaled, and they had n to say in vindication of the parties in these men knew the charges to be true, but fear of losing office, or from a fear of not go fice, they kept their lips sealed, and roted for a unworthy of the nation's support, then of all m were the most recreant to duty, and deserve vectives which have been launched against the dent; their silence, however, is evidence their belief in the charges brought against Mr. Lin but of their conviction that they cannot be supplement and are not deserved. (Applause.)

For myself, I am perplexed to decide bets views taken by Mr. Phillips of the character and duct of the President to-day, and those takes by h

announced a proground as a radi Mr. FOSTER-Mr. Thompso speak for himse Mr. PHILLIPS Mr. THOMPSO think a radical a would have bethe people at lar out such a prog But, if the peo time for radical their power, an they not make with Mr. Phillip fore it is that I c ondemns, the pe Lincoln. There may declare you Lincoln, and, as denounce, and this, and, after The other thing Lincoln as he is all that is necess the assistance in your bidding. (these forty Sens undred leading have heard, and Mr. Phillips will people will know are against him,

for the black man way. (Renewed the people have a Mr. Lincoln stand but are afraid to s cries of "Good! There is one w to say publicly is lips. He has try, and I hope h ever there is just which we do not c and, as a unit, he The statement ha untrymen who. ingland, admire roic and disin the oppressed. VOICES. Tre

Mr. THOMPS

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(Applause.)

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get periods. If I am asked to follow Mr. government of this country in the way he has done impaired by wholesale impeachment. This is all I gmer periods. If I am asked to one who praised to night. If, hereafter, but little respect should be contend for.

| Charles C. Burleigh rose to speak, but his voice Liacoln in 1861, and '62, and '63, or the one who ans him in 1864. (Applause and cries of "Good.") friend once said, "I appeal from Philip drunk to to frend duce sale, hillip soher; from Ann Street, cezened by old fogies, Ann Street, under guidance of her native ingacts. 1 will denouciations of Mr. Lincoln to-day, to his recepting denormals, and I believe just encomiums Mr. Lincoln in days past. (Applause.) It is asand that Mr. Lincoln is naturally incapacitated for samed that Mr. Lincoln is materiary incapacitated for the work he is now called upon to do, because he was be work ne is not. Well, if he was, is it not equally that that Fremont was born in South Carolina. It does erstarily follow that a man must be a horse benecessarily
ge he was born in a stable? (Laughter.) In Engand we had a very good king who was born in Holand se had a very good aing who was born in Hol-and; but though a Dutchman, he made a good aoveigt, and gave us institutions of which we are proud. grign, and gare us institutions of Mr. Lincoln to be born in If it was the know he did not stay long there. We hentucky, we have been the architect of his own forages, and that by his industry, probity, high principles and proverbial honesty, he has won his way to the afidence of the American people. We know, too, that he was elected president upon a platform, the that he was the anti slavery of which was the exduion of slavery from the fifteen hundred thousand quare miles of North-Western Territory; yet, within two years from the time he went into the White House, he issued a proclamation giving liberty to more han three million of slaves. (Applause.) He has united this great Republican nation in the bonds o fomatic relationship with the hitherto scorned and utlawed negro republics of Hayti and Liberia; and I and in the papers of yesterday, that the representaof one of these States was introduced upon the for of the Senate, and received the same attentions is are usually paid to the Ministers of Foreign Counries. (Applause.) He has purged the National Dis not from the reproach and pollution of slavery, and thereby put the national brand upon the sin and rine of holding human beings in bondage. (Applause.) By formal Message and Resolution, sent to the House of Representatives, and by personal inter-new with the men from the Border States, he has done what he could to promote emancipation in the stricts which his Proclamation could not reach. Thus, he has gone on from step to step, ever advancing ad never retreating, until a series of measures has en accomplished, such as the most sanguine amongst a sever dreamed to see carried during the present genention. They have been measures so grand, so beneficent and all important, that we who have con emplated them from the opposite side of the ocean have given God thanks on your behalf, and have repiced with you in the triumphs you have won. (Aphase.) I have listened to the speeches of Mr. Phillips with the deepest respect, and have endeavored to reigh his arguments with candor, and give all due weight to his facts. I have listened, also, to the meeches of Mr. Foster and Mr. Pillsbury; but nothing that I have heard has shaken my confidence in the perightness of Mr. Lincoln, or has convinced me that, all circumstances duly considered, he has not performed his ardnous and complicated duties in a manner to deserve the continued support of the friends of the colored race. He may not be a pure and perfect brysolite; he may have, and doubtless has, his infirmtes-for who amongst us is perfect ?-but when I look to the difficulties he has had to surmount, the warring ments by which he has been surrounded, the enenies within and without that have compassed his de atraction, and to the comparative fewness of the numm of those who have been prepared to sustain him a really radical measures, I cannot but regard him as the man for the situation. (Applause.) Does Mr. Phillips think that, in 1861, Mr. Lincoln might have amounced a programme that would have covered his ground as a radical abolitionist."

Mr. Foster-(in a loud voice)-Yes. Mr. Thompson. Mr. Phillips is of age, let him

speak for himself. Mr. PRILLIPS. Yes.

Mr. TROMPSON. Well, all I can say is. I do not hinks radical anti-slavery programme at that time would have been tolerated, still less supported by the people at large. I believe the attempt to carry ut such a programme would have been a failure. not make the automaton grind? I believe. with Mr. Phillips, that the people govern, and therefreit is that I consider that, for the things which he ondemns, the people are to blame rather than Mr. coln. There are two things you may do. You my declare yourselves the political opponents of Mr. incoln, and, as such, you may criticise, condemn, counce, and seek to destroy him. You may do this, and, after all, may fail to achieve your object. the other thing that you may do is, to take Mr. acoln as he is-tell him what you want-demand all that is necessary, just and right-give him all the assistance in your power-and compel him to do four bidding. (Applause.) You may, also, take here forty Senators and Representatives, and the andred leading men of Massachusetts, of whom we beard, and make them honest men. (Applause.) Ar Phillips will then have no secrets to tell, and the sople will know who are for Mr. Lincoln, and who esgainst him, and who it is that would do more the black man if the President did not stand in the ay. (Renewed applause.) In the mean time, let people have a list of the names of those who think needn stands in opposition to radical measures, at are afraid to say what they think. (Applause and of "Good!

There is one word which, before I sit down, I wish my publicly in the presence of my friend Mr. hillips. He has said some hard things of my coun-y, and I hope he will continue to censure us whener there is just cause. But he has said one thing Sich we do not deserve. He has said that "Enged, as a unit, hates America." This is not the fact. ent has, I know, pained very many of my tymen who, equally with the people of New agland, admire and love Wendell Phillips for his thic and disinterested championship of the cause of opressed. It is not true that England as a unit ates America.

Votces. True, true.

Mr. Thompson. No, it is not true, and facts in nce disprove the allegation. (Applause.) Your ional archives at Washington contain the evidence, the shape of Resolutions and Addresses, that hunheds of thousands of Englishmen are as sincerely dema for the welfare and prosperity of this country as the people of the Old Bay State. The most popular beings held in London are those called to express mathy with your government in its efforts to put the wicked rebellion which is still raging in the As for those in my country who hate your government, and your free institutions, I have thing to say in their defence. They are the eneerty at home, as they are the haters of lib-But that the great body of the English ate America, I take leave to deny: (Apmy friend were now to go to England, nest and unsophisticated people of that forgiving and forgetting what he has said,him an ovation second only to that which ddi has received. From Cape Clear to the auseway, and from John o' Groats to the Land End, the friends of human freedom would rein to their homes and their hearts, and would their homes and their nearts, and and their hearts, and their homes to the man who for seven and y years has consecrated his high intellectual

Street under guinance is example, and appeal from I will imitate his example, and appeal from I which is made to prevent it; but what I have to say that Administration than my friend. If I do not will be said. What I wish to say is this: I desire mistake, Mr. Lincoln is governed by sound instincts that it may be distinctly understood by those who vote and high principles, and if the people will command on this question, that there are those who believe the him to do that which is right, and will sustain him, he will obey. Nearly ten months have yet to elapse tions. Now, if you vote to substitute the one for the before his term of office expires. Much may be other, you prevent all possibility of passing the series done in that time; and looking to what has been done originally introduced; but if you vote not to make in the year that is past, much may be hoped and ex- that substitution, then you leave it possible to pass pected. Instead of waiting till a new President as- them both. cends the chair, let all that is possible be obtained through the present incumbent. Do not take it for anti-slavery position and character of the Administra granted that Mr. Lincoln will not do the things you tion is all correct, there need be no hesitation about desire; but bring the necessary pressure to bear, and passing the resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury, for see what may be effected now; if he will not, ere he they exactly endorse such an Administration as itself descends from his present elevation to the position of a private citizen, become the instrument in your hands of breaking every yoke, and of making this country then, I hope that every one who is willing to acknow from the Gulf to the Mountains all hallowed ground. edge by his acts, that the arguments of our friends in (Prolonged applause.) Mr. PHILLIPS. At this late hour, I ask only five his consistency by voting, not to substitute the second

minutes, ladies and gentlemen; and the President of resolution for the first, without they shall both be the Convention requests that the members will remain adopted. to vote on the resolutions.

friend, Mr. Thompson, or my friend, Mr. Garrison, Convention meets here to defeud the rights of man; for their opinions, their speeches, or anything they have said of me. I recognize, most cordially, their right, as old and tried leaders, to our respectful defer-

lips' speeches) was Phillips drunk, and I am Phillips sober, or the reverse, what of it? Proving me inconsistent does not begin to prove Mr. Lincoln wise or capable. That cause must be hardly pushed and in son's resolutions for those of Mr. Pillsbury was then desperate need, which has nothing better to urge than taken, and it was declared lost. the inconsistency of its opponent. (Applause.) Suppose all Mr. Garrison urges is true. As Waldo Emer: adopted. son said, years ago-" What is inconsistency ? Edu- Mr. Burleigh moved that the series offered by Mr. cation." It is only passing from error to truth.

A VOICE. It is the other way. MR. PHILLIPS. Well, it is at least an attempt to

speeches that my friend says he has so kindly pasted adopted. and indexed, I have no occasion to say, as Sir James
Graham did, "I was wrong." Not a whit of it. If sertion that the Government had recognized the right Mr. Garrison had read the whole of each speech, and of citizenship of the negro. the dates-mark you, the dates-and then had put with Mr. Garrison accepted the amendment, and the it the other speeches of that very volume, I should have no occasion to shrink from the view. (Applause, Mr. Powell then introduced his resolutions, pub and cries of "Good.") There may be, here and there, an unguarded expression, such as every extempora-neous speaker must fall into occasionally; but para-vention, at 11.15 adjourned—most of the large audigraph by paragraph, page by page, speech by speech, I challenge the record. It only proves that I have cussion, having remained until the close been hopeful, fair, impartial, as months rolled away; (loud applause); interpreting each day as hopefully, with as "generous sympathy" for the government as I could, and now I look back on the last three years and judge them in the full light of a general, deliberate retrospect. Enough of that.

Thirdly: my friend, Mr. Thompson, says that I have disabled his judgment; presuming to think that I, living on the spot, know my own country better than he does, living three thousand miles off. I am sorry to hear that he considers that presumption. surprised at the character I attribute to Massachusetts that the President only is wrong. politicians ? (Applause and hisses.) He showed, by Not only is there no sufficient evidence of this propo the very honesty of his astonishment, that I was in-deed correct, when I said that I knew America better of this people is yet unhealed; their sin is neither forthan he did. But, again, he says I erred if I ever saken, nor repented of, nor acknowledged, nor even said (of which I have no recollection) that England as a understood by themselves. Having ever in their a unit, hated America. If he says it is not true, if mouths the phrases of the Declaration of Independent that is his judgment, on the spot, I acknowledge that dence, they remain utterly ignorant that the distinche, an Englishman, living in England, walking up and tions of caste which they maintain are in flagrant an down its highways, and addressing its audiences, tagonism, alike to the letter and spirit of that instru-But, if the people who govern were ready at that knows England better than I do; with his testimony, ment. Having eyes, they do not see that liberty, civil the for radical measures, why did they not exert on the same principle that I asked it of him, I defer equality, and the pursuit of happiness, are unalienable their power, and why did they not turn the wheel to his better judgment, and, if I ever made such a rights, as well for the negro as the white man. Having more the figure in the shop window? Why did statement, I take it back. (Loud applause.) Would ing ears, they do not hear the indignant scoff which he not be somewhat surprised, if instead of doing so, civilization all over the world raises against their at. I called it presumption in him to consider his knowl- tempt to combine caste and democracy in one system. edge of England better than mine, and claimed that Having intelligence keen enough for all the exigenhe should give up his opinion and accept mine on such cies and all the interests of Number One, they do not a matter? I am not aware, however, that I ever did see that their boasted self-evident truth, that all just say England as a unit hated America. I have said powers in government flow from the consent of the that her aristocracy, and her government, representing governed, applies as forcibly to the colored as to the that class, hated America. So I still think. I shall white element in our community.

welcome his opinion on that point, and shall give it . The President himself—not his language only. infinitely more weight in deciding the question than (which is worth as much or as little as that of other

my own. Enough of that. mover of them thought it necessary to sustain them the people are not ready for it. The truth of this by what, I venture to say, has not of late been heard statement by no means suffices for his excuse, for his praise of Seward, McClellan, and Montgomery Blair. needful for the nation's welfare, even when the nation ("Hear, hear."). You who feel that you can say amen itself does not see them, as in the surrender of Mason to such eulogy, vote for these resolutions; but you and Slidell. But the allegation is manifestly true. who believe as I have for the last three years, that For, if the nation were determined that the colored freedom and the Union have no craftier, no more people throughout the country should have their rights dangerous enemy than Seward, (applause and hisses,) as men, soldiers, and citizens, a President who is acyou who remember the long agony with which we tively intriguing for reëlection would be swift to gratigrouned under the first ten months of McClellan's fy their wishes in that particular. Nothing is more treasonable idleness, and then the indignation with certain than that Mr. Lincoln wants votes. If h which we saw his return to power, (renewed hisses could accomplish the wishes and secure the support of and applause,) and who believe that the Montgomery twenty millions at the North, by giving citizenship to Blair, whom I honestly praised in 1861, has become four and a half millions of colored people at the South, the traitor of 1864, vote against these resolutions. and just military consideration to their soldiers, and Every man who hisses me for that statement, vote for the ballot (of course to be used in his favor) to their these resolutions; every man who cannot endorse adult males, would be not long since have done it that eulogy of Mr. Garrison, vote against them.

Mr. GARRISON. Mr. President, one word. My friend Phillips's speeches, in relation to Mr. Lincoln, interfered as he did with Fremont, with Hunter, with devour each other. (Laughter and applause.) It is Phelps, with Butler? Would be have changed that not that he has been getting undeceived. Assuredly, if he had simply changed his mind, I should not think ana, by which the rebels there were effectually held in of presenting the case here as worthy of special no-We all change, and may change for the better trouble is, that his speeches pertaining to Mr. Lincoln, since the rebellion broke out, are irreconcilably contra-

dictory. (Applause.) Now, as to my alleged eulogy of Montgomery Blair, William H. Seward, etc., I have given none. All I said was, that Montgomery Blair had given the strongest testimony in favor of the binding nature of the President's Proclamation of Emancipation, and declared that no power could legally repeal it; and I thought that, in fairness, it ought to be put to his credit. Is that to be eulogistic? I said that he had gone to Baltimore, to influence the people of Maryland to make a Constitution abolishing slavery throughout that State on the fourth day of July. Is not that a creditable fact? I said of William H. Seward, that, while I had not a very high opinion of him, still there was a great deal of indefinite accusation against him. and very little that you could put your finger upon to condemn. Yet all the vials of denunciation have been poured out upon him, as though he were the vilest of tricksters, and an enemy of the cause of freedom. But has there been a particle of evidence adduced to show that he is thus guilty? Mr. Seward, however the most despised and down-trodden of the cevidence presented to support the charges—I say it is evidence presented to Mr. Seward; and I am not has face. (Great applause.) I regret that Mr. ont just, even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and I am not just even in regard to Mr. Seward; and Mr. Seward even in regard to Mr. Seward even i

my own country, let it be remembered, that through
the lips of New England's most accomplished orator,
the Administration at Washington has been pronounced "imbecile, weak-headed, and worse-hearted."

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH rose to speak, but his voice
was drowned in clamorous calls of "question," "question," and loud stamping of feet. After a while, ordet
was partially restored, and Mr. Burleigh said:—
All I have to say will take less time than the clamor

favor of the Administration is conclusive, will show

I have said what I wished to say in regard to these Understand me. I do not blame-far from it-my resolutions. I wanted it to be understood that this

The President called upon the Convention to mair ence in all matters relating to this cause.

Secondly, understand this; If that book (Mr. Phil. tain silence, that Mr. Burleigh might see that his right

The resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury were then

Garrison be adopted. Mr. PHILLIPS moved to amend the first resolution so that it should read-" Resolved, That the progress of pass from error to truth.

But, again; with that book before me, or all the has been truly wonderful." The amendment was

lished last week, in reference to the amendment of ence, absorbed by the interest and power of the dis-

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 1864.

THE NATION'S NEED.

It is plain enough that President Lincoln is not die posed to do justice to the colored people, either in the When, later in his speech, he asked me, with wonder- civil or the military department. Many of those who ing and incredulous surprise, how it could be that a dislike his present policy, and deprecate his reclection hundred Massachusetts politicians thought differently from what they spoke, it occurred to me, that if he vorably with the people at large, and to say that they lived with us a year, he would find I knew the country desire a policy more liberal towards the blacks, and better than he did. (Applause.) If he lives here more radical in regard to the extirpation of slavery twelve months, do you believe, friends, that he will be that the people are right upon the negro question, and

diplomatists) but his life-is a sufficient witness upon Fourthly: Ladies and gentlemen, you are now to this point. He says, as an excuse for not doing to the rote on these resolutions. Remember this; the negro the justice which he does not wish to do, that on the platform of any Anti-Slavery Convention-by function requires him to see and execute the things "with alacrity"? If this policy had really been favored by the great mass of the people, would he have policy, established by the last-named officer in Louisicheck, and an enthusiastic and effective support of the Union cause was obtained from the numerous colored -be wiser to-day than we were 'yesterday. The population? Would be have allowed General Banks to reverse that policy, to alienate the feelings of that colored population, to establish serfdom over them in place of slavery, to bribe the pro-slavery secessionists to lip-loyalty by restoring a portion of the mustership which they had lost, and to set up (for political purposes) the painted semblance of a civil Governor, whose function has to be executed by a Military Gov-ernor, bearing rule at the same time, over the same

> Legislators are ready enough to accomplish a decided wish of the population that can reclect them. If the people are thoroughly opposed even to slavery, (to say nothing of the establishment of full and equal liberty for colored people in its stead.) how is it that so many as fifty-five members of the House of Represensatives voted against the bill proposing the abolition of slavery by a Constitutional amendment? Voted

against even the second reading of that bill! Take one more bit of evidence. The Missouri Sanitary Fair had a Freedmen's Department among its extensive arrangements. Here is an account of an incident that took place there, clipped from the Mis-

souri Republican of May 26: show that he is thus guilty? Mr. Seward, however culpable he may be, has a right (a right which the veriest criminal enjoys) to say,—"Produce the evidence; convict me before you proceed to punish me." But this stabbing in the dark, without any tangible received and down-trodden of the three. (Great applause.) I regret that Mr. should consider it his duty to speak of the

referred them to Mr. Fox. By Mr. F. they were referred to some one else, who procured season tickets for their use. This third party did not like the responsibility and embarrassment of dealing with the visitors, and rid himself of them by turning them over to the Rev. Dr. Nelson, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of this city, who is in official position at the Fair, as Chairman of the Freedman and Refugee Department. Here their wanderings ended.

The reverend gentleman had no desire to pass them to other hands, and gave them a cordial and hospitable reception—so hospitable, indeed, that he walked them straightway into the large refreshment saloon, known as the Cafe Laclede, seated himself with them at one of the tables, and proceeded to order a dinner for their mutual comfort.

The Cafe Laclede, we may state, is a leading fearman and the will, reflection and determination, can

If this direct result of slavery, a conceit of the necessary and intrinsic inferiority of black men to white, be yet so strong as to prevent co-workers in a course of nevolent action from treating each other with decency, and meeting in public places as men and brethren, how can it be said that the nation is right upon the negro question? Alas, so far are we from being right, that it remains yet to be decided whether the

nation is worth saving.

But this very delinquency of the people is a reason why we should have a better President than the existing one. We need a man who, seeing that the nation's health and life need a great work of reform, will use vigorously the power which the war places in his hands to effect it, "taking the responsibility," as one of old did, and not protracting the war by the de liberate choice of half-measures instead of whole ones, until the slow process of education shall have brought the people right upon that subject.

Is Fremont that man? His letter accepting the mination of the Cleveland Convention (which may be seen in another column,) contains no strong indication to that effect. It has neither the vigor, the directness, the soundness nor the thoroughness which

Democracy." The assumption that slavery is practically destroyed (instead of being on the sure road to destruction) tion of a fact presumably near at hand, although we in that direction. But the further statment that-With this extinction of slavery the party divisions place. It is precisely the remaining strength of these statesman's. party divisions which have allowed Abraham Lincoln

ion together a year ago.

need that the routine of civil administration should be interfered with, because that routine protected and perpetuated slavery. The true charge against Mr. Lincoln is, that he has never used half enough the plenary power which the war has put into his hands. His arrests of manifest allies of the enemy, his suppression of treasonable newspapers, and his interference with the numerous movements by which aid and comfort have been given to rebels in arms, have the most of the protection of the state of the suppression of th never been half so frequent or half so effective as the exigencies of the country demand. It is absurd to expect war to be carried on otherwise than by violent and rbitrary rule. What we have a right to demand is that this arbitrary rule shall accomplish the things needful for the party or the cause that uses it. The war has given Abraham Lincoln the opportunity to assail slavery with numerous weapons not admissible should have received a fatal blow from the first moment that the powers of war could be legitimately used The President has chosen to main mere-, instead of killing, to stun merely, instead of crushing, this monster. This is his fault, and it is a great

the peril of the knife. object to confiscation altogether except "in the be-

ginning of a revolt." tions and the laws of war, but it is specially and douband black emigrants from Northern States. Without struction of States will be fearfully complicated and

mont's sentences, namely, this:-

Another negro minister, either from New York or Brooklyn, accompanied him, and was recommended, perhaps, in the same letter. They first saw James E. Yeatman, President of the Sanitary Commission, who referred them to Mr. Fox. By Mr. F. they were referred to some one else, who procured season tickets for their new. This third nexts fid not kind nexts from New York or Brooklyn, accompanied him, and was recommended, perhaps, in the same letter. They first saw James E. Yeatman, President of the Southern people are concernsferred to some one else, who procured season tickets for their nexts.

as the Café Laclede, scated himself with them at one of the tables, and proceeded to order a dinner for their mutual comfort.

The Café Laclede, we may state, is a leading feature of the Fair, in which thirty or forty of our most respectable matrons and young ladies lend their services to wait upon all who enter and order refreshments. Many of them manifested their indignant and outraged sense by tears, and others by taking their departure on the instant from the place. Mr. Fogg. Mr. Blackman, and other Fair Committeemen, remonstrated with Dr. Nelson, and the lady in charge of the refreshment department for the day sent him a note refreshment department for the day sent him a note reguesting him to at once remove himself and companions. Dr. Nelson at last yielded, and went away."

It shis, however, we are governed by inexorable law, and reason and the will, reflection and determination, can almost as little release us from our prodigal habits as they could prevent us from embracing them. It is him to believe that the most disastrous experience is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from a course whose ence is insufficient to turn men from plainest Divine requirements; the cheapness of imme diate, unhesitating justice-the awful penalty of delay Rich in material resources, in land, houses, machinery industrial enterprise, fertility of invention, the nation perhaps may laugh at poverty and her gaunt sister famine, and spend two dollars where she late spent one. But what people ever so abounded in virtue as that they could afford to repeat their moral expendi-

tures, be guilty of identical transgressions, twice rear harvest of tares from the self-same field, and yet hope to thrive in the favor of God, as secure from his retribution, as they are destitute of remorse? Such are the thoughts with which I am filled, as I watch the progress of our legislation, from week to week. The votes of the Senate ou the Montana bill and suffrage in the District, and of the House on the amendment to the Constitution; coupled with the action of the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana, prohibiting legislation at any time by which the colored man shall be admitted to the polls-are instances of subserviency to slavery perfectly astounding in a nation not yet free from a mortal encounter with its idol. Does any one of the so-called Republican Senators who voted in effect to exclude colored citizens from every new State hereafter to arise in the Union, pretend that he followed should characterize the candidate of "the Radical his conviction of tight; or does he expect that the question he has settled for the moment will not one day be opened up and agitated, until his vote is reversed? Recreant New Englanders, Collamer and Foote of Vermont, might pass as merely an overstatement, an anticipa- Morrill of Maine, Foster of Connecticut, do you, too, partake of the cowardice of '87, which left us rebellio have serious need to guard against undue confidence as a heritage, and have you nothing better to bequeath your children than an evil memory and the task of un-"With this extinction of slavery the party divisions created by it have disappeared"—is a ludicrous and have stood shoulder to shoulder, with New Hamp-complete misrepresentation. It is precisely the shire, and Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and Iowa, strength of the party influences created by slavery and Kansas-with Chandler of Michigan, Dixon of that has kept General Fremont so long out of active | Connecticut, Morgan of New York? Even Senator military service—that has kept the Democrats from Wilkinson, who first made stand against caste in the becoming Republicans—that has kept the Republicans from becoming Abolitionists-and that now rendifficult of explanation, unless we connect it with a ders probable the election of Lincoln, reluctantly con- desire to head off the dangerous invasion of Congress, senting to assail slavery at the dictate of "military in the re-constructed Union, by the embittered reprenecessity," in place of some better man who would sentatives of a crushed rebellion, by erecting as many rejoice to use the power which war gives a President (nominally) free States as possible, with their Senatoto crush that wickedness, and to establish liberty in its rial quotas. But this is a politician's shuffle, not a

Before these words are printed, the Baltimore Con to follow his own inclination to treat slavery with tol- vention will have met, acted, and perhaps adjourned. erant tenderness, instead of crushing it and the rebel- What I could wish it to do is of no consequence to reon together a year ago.

Complaining of the present administration, Gen. be affected by the recent Convention at Cleveland, remont tells us-" The ordinary rights secured under cannot be guessed at this hour; nor can any one de the Constitution and the laws of the country have fine the strength of the constituency which this latter been violated, and extraordinary powers have been body represented or claimed to represent. The platusurped by the Executive." These are remarkable form which it adopted is in many respects progressive, complaints from one who is at once a military man and an opposer of slavery. Are not ordinary civil men; in others not different from the sentiments of all loyal men; in others still, accusatory by implication of the affairs accustomed to give place when war is in progress, and to yield to the necessity it imposes, as a or where praise rather than censure was to be looked matter of course? In our case there was special for from Radicals. In illustration of this last point, need that the routine of civil administration should let me quote the following resolutions:—

Now it is one thing to admit the trnth of Resolution

Sixth, and another to make out a case against Mr. Lincoln's administration as defective, either in integrity or economy-using the latter term in its common acceptation; and again another to prove that Generals Fremont and Cochrane would exhibit more of these qualities in a distribution of the spoils of office and before. Slavery being the mother of the rebellion, rulers proposed were to be based on this consideration alone, I think the people would do well, and would resolve to prefer the known to the unknown; and I have yet to learn that the President has forfeited hi claim to the appellation of "honest," by corrupt and venal practices emanating from himself, or permitted one. But, in the name of common sense, let us not hear the complaint that the Commander-in-Chief of the American army and navy, in the midst of a war of the hope to blacken. Resolution Seventh is superfluastounding magnitude, uses " extraordinary powers " ous and meaningless, unless it be intended as a rebuke consent to take the risk of over-action against slavery. If you will extirpate the cancer, we will stand ing which may or may not have been irregular in point of law, but which was so clearly in the interest Gen. Fremont, referring to one of the resolutions of of liberty, and a recognition of the rights of man as the Cleveland Convention, namely, that which recom-mends "the confiscation of the lands of rebels, and their distribution among soldiers and settlers," makes a protest. He thinks confiscation of the property of all rebels not practicable nor desirable, and proceeds to object to confiscation altogether except "in the beautiful forms of the right of asylum." She cries—"If there is no object to confiscation altogether except "in the beautiful forms of the right of asylum." She cries—"If there is no object to confiscation altogether except "in the beautiful forms of the right of asylum." me !"-much as our British friends call for the reten tion of the pirates who come to port, and afterwards. Now, neither the Cleveland Convention nor any if need be, for an amendment of the Foreign Enlistbody else has proposed to seize the property of all ment Act. Resolution Fourth implicitly condemns the rebels. But a forfeiture of the lands of the leaders and officers, civil and military, of the rebellion, is not only in being infrequent. Had there been less of unonly perfectly in accordance with the custom of na- restricted treasonable speaking and printing, victory had been further advanced to-day, and the end of the ly needful in our case; first, that the traitors in ques- rebellion nearer. As for the habeas corpus, it may be tion, after the war, may no longer hold the station well to wish its suspension applicable only to territory and influence which gave them the means of doing so under martial law, but wishing the Constitution difand influence which gave them the means of doing so under martial law, but wishing the Constitution dif-much harm; and next, that those lands may be given ferent from what it is now will not make the Presiand sold to loyal people, to form the nucleus of a loy-al population in the Southern States; given to the ferred by that instrument—if faultily, only as before, freedmen (the true owners of those lands in equity) because too seldom. Exact construction might even and to the white and black soldiers who have helped go further, and challenge demonstration that the to regain them; and sold, at moderate prices, to white power to suspend the writ is confined to the Executive, and does not pertain to every officer in the this measure of safeguard, the question of the reconexercise. In the use, moreover, of these imfunctions of war, the danger to the freedom of a peo There is space to notice but one more of Gen. Fre- ple springs from the motives of him who wields them; and, with no partiality for Mr. Lincoln, I am cor "In the adjustments which are to follow peace, no onsideration of vengeance can consistently be admitsuppose him intriguing for power, or the diminution This is a very extraordinary statement. Nobody of our rights and privileges. Certainly, we have less as proposed vengeance, nobody wishes for vengeance, to fear from a civilian than from a military hero. I no administration that we are likely to have would protest, if there ever was a time when our dearest think of exercising vengeance on even the worst of liberties were safe, it is now and has been during the the rebels. The danger is all the other way. It is incumbency of Abraham Lincoln. They would have much to be feared that, when the war shall close, no been safer far had he multiplied his Fort Lafayettes, due precaution will be taken against a continuance of machinations dangerous to the liberty and prosperity Slavery, mind you, is the foe of every liberty, the of the country, by the very men now carrying on the greatest and the least; to cripple slavery and its acas ill-judged and dangerous as those already offered to its enjoyment, nor are we bound to be scrupulous as the rebels may be extended to them when the war shall to the manner of our blows—though the sword which end, giving new opportunities for mischief to the most hews at the monster is swung so unwkilfully as to ious and unprincipled of men. This is a real wound ourselves, we will forgive the accident to the danger which we have yet to meet. But nobody conintent.

The New York World exults with reason in the [The above were incorrectly inserted last week.]

speakers, that the movement inaugurated is an attempt to win success for a factious nomination by sweeping under the banner of Fremont all the hostile elements which are arrayed against the Administration, without regard to principle. Many will join that standard from pure motives, but more from infamous, and it is to be regretted that the Path-finder consents to head an effort which must result either in his own mortification and miserable defeat at the polls, the fatal division of the Union party and consequent triumph of the rebellion, or his elevation to the office to which he aspires by men to whom it will neither be safe nor honorable to be indebted. The name which is associated with his as Vice-President has a record which it is not comfortable to recall. Of a loyalty by no meaus above suspicion for sometime after the outbreak of the war, there is no proof that his devotion to liberty is deeper than that of a shrewd politician and accomplished wirepuller. His remarks in the Convention were almost wholly directed to the points embodied in the resolu-tions I have quoted—proof to me at least that one who could reprehend the Administration for some of its most meritorious performances, (without which it must have succumbed, as any other Administration would,) was hollow-hearted and untrustworthy. M. DU PAYS

GEN. FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

GEN. FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

GENTLEMEN: In answer to the letter which I have had the honor to receive from you on the part of the representatives of the people assembled at Cleveland, on the 31st of May, I desire to express my thanks for the confidence which led them to offer me the honorable and difficult position of their candidate, in the approaching Presidential contest.

Very honorable, because in offering it to me, you act in the name of a great number of citizens, who seek above all things the good of their country, and who have no sort of selfish interest in view. Very difficult, because in accepting the candidacy you propose to me, I am exposed to the reproach of creating a schism in the party with which I have been identified.

Had Mr. Lincoln remained faithful to the principles he was elected to defend, no schism could have been created, and no contest could have been possible. This is not an ordinary election, it is a contest for the right even to have candidates, and not merely as usual for the choice among them. Now, for the first time since '76, the question of constitutional liberty has been brought directly before the people for their serious consideration and vote. The ordinary rights secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country have brought directly before the people for their serious consideration and vote. The ordinary rights secured under the Constitution and the laws of the country have been violated, and extraordinary powers have been usurped by the Executive. It is directly before the people now to say, whether or not the principles established by the Revolution are worth maintaining. If, as we have been taught to believe, those guarantees of liberty, which made the distinctive value and

If, as we have been taught to believe, those guarantees of liberty, which made the distinctive value and glory of our country, are in truth inviolably sacred, then there must be a protest against the arbitrary violation, which had not even the excuse of necessity. The schism is ninde by those who force the choice between a shameful silence or a protest against wrong. In such considerations originated the Cleveland Convention. It was among its objects to arouse the attention of the people to such facts, and to bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country, in the name of Liberty.

tion of the people to such facts, and to bring them to realize that while we are saturating Southern soil with the best blood of the country, in the name of Liberty, we have really parted with it at home.

To-day we have in the country the abuses of military dictation without its unity of action and vigor of execution; an Administration marked at home by disregard of Constitutional rights, by its violation of personal liberty and the liberty of the press, and, as a crowning shame, by its abandonment of the right of asylum—a right especially dear to all free nations. Abroad, its course has been characterized by a feebleness and want of principle which has missed European powers, and driven them to a belief that only commercial interests and personal aims are concerned, and that no great principles are involved in the issue.

The admirable conduct of the people, their readiness to make every sacrifice demanded of them, their forbearance and silence, under the suspension of everything that could be suspended, their many acts of heroism and sacrifices, were all rendered fruitless by the incapacity or, to speak more exactly, by the personal ends for which the war was managed. This incapacity and selfishness naturally produced such results as led the European Powers, and logically enough, to the conviction that the North, with its greatly superior population, its immense resources, and its credit, will never be able to recover the South. Sympathies which should have been with us from the outset of the war were turned against us, and in this way the Administration has done the country a double wrong war were turned against us, and in this way the Administration has done the country a double wrong abroad. It created hostility, or, at best, indifference

abroad. It created hostility, or, at best, indifference among those who would have been its friends if the real intentions of the people could have been better known; while at the same time, it neglected no occasion for making the most humiliating concessions. Against this disastrous condition of affairs the Cleveland Convention was a protest.

The principles which form the basis of its platform have my unqualified and cordial approbation; but I cannot so heartily concur in all the measures which you propose. I do not believe that confiscation extended to the property of all rebels, is practicable, and, if it were so, I don't think it a measure of sound policy. It is a question belonging to the people themand, if it were so, I don't think it a measure of sound policy. It is a question belonging to the people themselves to decide, and is a proper occasion for the exercise of their original and sovereign authority. As a war measure, in the beginning of a revolt, which might be quelled by prompt severity, I understand the policy of confiscation; but not as a final measure of reconstruction after the suppression of an insurrection.

on.

In the adjustments which are to follow peace, no onsiderations of vengeance can consistently be ad-

itted.

The object of the war is to make permanently se-

The object of the war is to make permanently secure the peace and happiness of the whole country, and there was but a single element in the way of its attainment. This element of slavery may be considered practically destroyed in the country, and it needs only your proposed amendment of the Constitution to make its extinction complete.

With this extinction of slavery, the party divisions created by it have also disappeared. And if in the country, there has ever been a time when the American people, without regard to one or another of the political divisions, were called upon to give solemnly their voice in a matter which involved the safety of the United States, it is assuredly the present time.

If the Convention at Baltimore will nominate any

If the Convention at Baltimore will nominate any man whose past life justifies a well-grounded confidence in his fidelity to our cardinal principles, there is no reason why there should be any division among the really patriotic men of the country. To any such I shall be most happy to give a cordial and active support.

My own decided preference is to aid in this way, and not to be myself a candidate. But if Mr. Lin-coln should be renominated, as I believe it would be coin should be renominated, as I believe it would be fatal to the country to endorse a policy and renew a power which has cost us the lives of thousands of men, and needlessly put the country on the road to bankrupter, there will remain no alternative but to organize against him every element of conscientious opposition with the view to prevent the misfortune of his registron.

is reëlection.

In this contingency, I accept the nomination at In this contingency, I accept the nomination at Cleveland, and as a preliminary step I have resigned my commission in the army. This was a sacrifice it gave me pain to make. But I had for a long time truitlessly endeavored to obtain service. I make this sacrifice only to regain liberty of speech, and to leave nothing in the way of discharging to my utmost ability the task you have set for me.

With my earnest and sincere thanks for your expressions of confidence and regard, and for the many honorable terms in which you acquaint me with the actions of the Committee,

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully and truly yours,
J. C. FREMONT.

To Messrs. Worthington G. Snethen of Maryland, Edward Gilbert of New York, Caspar Burz of Illinois, Charles E. Moss of Missouri, N. P. Sawter of Pennsylvania.

New York, June 4, 1864.

Telegraphic reports from the Baltimore Convention say that Abraham Lincoln has been nomina-ted, by acclamation, for the next Presidency.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will attend a Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Progress in Middle Granville, N. Y. on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of June; and lecture in Wash-ington and Saratoga counties, N. Y., till July 1st. A. T. FOSS will speak in Hyannis, Sunday, the

12th, and in the vicinity during the week. In Harwich, on Sunday, 19th, and in the vicinity during he week.

In North Dennis, on Sunday, 26th.

DIED-In this city, April 29, Mrs. ELIEA JACKSON STANDIN, aged 63; for many years a member of the First Independent Baptist Church in Joy Street, and justly regarded by all her acquaintances as a devoted Christian.
At Cambridgeport, May 18, ESTRILLA LOUISA, only daughter of William T. and Louisa Hilton Raymond, aged 1 year

For the Liberator.

OUR WAY. "We wait beneath the furnace-b The pangs of transformation; Not painlessly God doth recast And mould anew the nation."

We know not in what lone dark paths Our weary aching feet may tread, Ere we ascend the tranquil heights, By Peace's fair white-winged angel led.

We know not yet what priceless gifts Ere through the lurid clouds of was We see the light of coming day.

We must not shrink nor falter now, Or think of ease, or dream of rest; We would not stay the battle-tide,

This is no selfish party feud, We strive not for ourselves alone Nor stand we in the van of war To prop a despot's tottering throne. The battle-flag of Liberty

And bright and free it floateth still Never before so pure and fair. The oppressor's hand shall never furl Our dear old flag, the "Stars and stripes," And Northern hearts shall never bow

Unto the traitor's crimson bars.

Our tears may fall like Summer rain, And Death our treasured ones may take; Still for the Right our lives we pledge,

Above our martyred heroes' names Slavery shall never reach her shrine; Nor shall her gory fingers stain

From out each lonely grass-grown mound, A solemn voice we seem to hear : " Oh, brothers ! guard this sacred turf, And Freedom's holy altar rear !

Let not our lives be given in vain ! Brothers, unto the Right be true; Guard well the precious heritage Which we have sought to win for you."

We'll listen to that earnest voice,-Press onward still at Duty's call ; And calmly, bravely, fill our place Whatever change may us befall !

We know that Truth must win at last; Her grasp shall conquer giant Wrong, And every fetter rend in twain

Then let us ne'er despair or doubt. Though clouds shall lower along our way; Through them at last the light shall break, The herald of a glorious day! May, 1864.

> For the Liberator. VIOLETS. BY ALMIRA SEYMOUR.

Sweet thoughts of blest spirits! How purely they lie On the forehead of each spring-lit vale ; Glancing gratefully up, like a gentle blue eye, To meet the warm smile of the dear, distant sky-Distant measured by space, but in influence nigh; Love's life-giving presence, that answers no why, Yet knows every language but fail.

Dream-thoughts of the angels! Down deep in that blu What graceful suggestions I find ! A memory that keeps all the dear past in view, Till all life stands transfigured, eternally new.

Life-drops from the breast of our dear mother earth For the lips of each hungering child Whose soul craves the food of the tender new-birth, Heart-weary and faint with the world's want of worth Or, wounded and left in the Wilderness dearth, ere he fell bravely fighting for Right, Home and Hearth

O, Father, I thank thee for all thou hast given To enrich this, our spirits' first home ;—
For all grandeur and glory that sunward have striven; For the thunder that rives and the monarch force-riven ; But most for each sweet, loving witness, that Heaven, As the Kingdom of Earth, shall yet come. 10, Temple Place, May, 1864.

* An incident of a recent deserted battle-field in Vir

JENNIE AND JAMIE.

A POEM FOR THE LOYAL WOMEN.

Jenny in fine array, Jamie so far away ; Jenny in silken attire, Jamie in muck and mire ? Jenny with full and plenty to eat, Jamie without a morsel of mea-Jenny must needs have diamonds to wear,

Laces and feathers and gems for her hair ; Jamie's clothes are tattered and torn. His luckless boots so cut up and worn. That he thinks with dismay

On the fast coming day, When "upper" and "sole" will both give way. Oh, Jenny ! just think

That we're on the brink Of a struggle most mighty and fearful; And that soon Jamie's head May lie midst the dead, On a field so pitifully dreadful. Then give up your diamonds, your silks and your laces

After fashion and dress; And strive to think les Of what you will buy; And more, how you'll try To bear your own share In sorrow and care, That darkens our nation, once blest : And fervently pray

Throw by all your follies, and cease all your race

That bright peace soon may Shine on Jamie and all the rest. -Philadelphia P

ORA ET LABORA.

BY MRS. PHEBE ANN HANAPORT

The cross is heavy which on thee is laid. The path is thorny which thy feet must tread. The way is narrow, far off seems its end, And Death oft robs thee of a cherished friend Be this thy motto-" Ora et Labora !"

"Ora"-for prayer thy cross may yet remove, Or bring thee strength to bear it from above; Through work, prayer-hallowed, seeds of bliss may spr fruit shall ripen where the angels sing ;-By Faith encouraged to hope for joys before her, Let thy soul answer-"Ora et Labora!"

"Labora"—though the clouds above thee lower, God will give sunshine in the summer hour; Work! and sweet flowers will by the wayside bloom To cheer thee as thou journeyest to thy home; With God's bright bow of promise bending o'er her, Let the soul shout it-" Ora et Labora !

Aye! "Pray and Labor!" he that goeth forth, Praying, to scatter seed upon the earth, Shall labor not in vain, while angels wait To answer knocks at the Celestial Gate Thorns shall give place at last to fadeless flowers, Crowns be for crosses given, in Heaven's sweet bow Réading, Mass., April 27, 1864.

THE CASE OF MARGARET GARNER. The Tiberator.

A GENEROUS TESTIMONY.

FRIEND GARRISON :- I desire, with your permis

from the Christian Ambassador, published at New York

ill flattery-of yourself or of anybody else-I affirm

mean and mendacious-an insult to true Christian-

EARLY ANTI-SLAVERY.

uon in the New York Observer. The aim of the article, which is too long to be copied in these columns, was to show, as the Observer expresses it, "that the English abolitionist, George Thompson, and the Garrisoniah school, are not entitled to any gratitude for their efforts to promote disunion and abolition." The thought is very neatly turned and

abolition." The thought is very neatly turned and is worthy of a well trained politician. "Disunion and

is worthy of a well trained politician. "Disunion and abolition!" as if the first object—the great purpose of these men was to effect disunion; and abolition

very. Slavery made one a disunion man; anti-slave-ry the other. Yet they both worked, each in his own way, with entire devotion to the common object."

ray, with entire devotion to the common object."

The conclusion to which this zealous partizan

comes, and which its religious coadjutor warmly ap-proves, is, that Garrison and his school, as it is call-

"We have not a particle of doubt," continues the

weighty. The strong under current of American senti-ment and feeling has, from the first, been one of oppositon

We fear that we belong to the pretty large party

of "ignorant and prejudiced" persons here referred to; and to prove it, we will state what we suppose

1. That "Garrison and his school" stand, amon

living anti-slavery men, not only foremost in point of time, but also as regards their profound hatred of

the accursed institution; their tireless denunciation

of it and its abettors, and their bitter relentless war

upon it, regardless of private interests, public repu-tation, or life itself. Never, since the age of the apostles, have men arrayed themselves—from mere

apostles, have men arrayed themselves—from mere love of principle and their fellow men—from hatred

terests, and sanctified by a thousand pious lies, with

a more self-sacrificing spirit or with a more earnest devotion than these men have, through the third part of a century, exhibited, We have no words

quy, has unfalteringly pushed its way.

2. That "Garrison and his school" never for a moment desired disunion for itself, and regarded it only as the lesser evil of two, that seemed to them,

at times, presented to their choice. They saw slavery gradually but surely working its way into power; they saw political parties formed and bending about it; they saw the Government perverted to advance the interests of slavery, and the Constitution itself which

tion itself, which was formed to promote liberty and

secure justice, made the instrument of bondage and oppression. Under the all-pervading influence

oppression. Under the all-pervading influence of this Upas they saw the pulpit become the apologist of this hoary wrong, and even the Bible made to utter its sanction to it! Is it wonderful that men,

touched and penetrated as they were with a sense of this great villany, should have wished for the dis-

solution of the Union, for anything indeed that

might restore the people to moral sanity, and lead them back to reverence for Right and God. Garrison and his school were called fanatics; they were

son and his school were called a new thought to be wild, heady men, carried away by extravagance, and more the subjects of a lunatic asylum than objects of respect. But who, think you,

now, were the madmen, those who were quietly

the folly, and cried out against it? We are to-day

paying the terrible penalty of our national madness and sin.

had the interests and the salvation of the country been confided to the counsels and keeping of the

Times and the Observer, and those who sympathized with them, God only knows what our condition

with them, God only knows what our condition would now have been. Say what you will of their extravagance, of their severity, of their irreligion, of their want of patriotism, and hatred of a union of right and wrong, of liberty and slavery, it cannot in justice be denied that they have been, under God, our pioneers out of the slough into which we were sinking. They kept alive a strong anti-slavery sentiment, which elsewhere was dying out, and roused, as with the voice of a trummet, the sleeping souls of mil-

which, beginning in the thoughts of a single heart, it may be, is now being settled on the great battle-

God be thanked for Garrison and his school. We would gladly share the honor that history will yet

field of a mighty nation

ng the viper in their bosom, or they who saw

Had it not been for Garrison and his school.

to express our admiration of that moral here

justice and oppression—against a giant wrong, ed round with power, rendered popular by in-

through so many years of conflict and oblo-

contestible facts, as follows:

ed, not only did nothing to promote emancipation but their whole influence tended only to retard it.

A PRINTER.

ity and Republicanism.

A VINDICATION OF GOV. CHASE.

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard

To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard:

There is a piece of history, which, being lately misreported, it is well to bring again to the public attention. The present seems peculiarly the fitting time to do so, as there is no pending candidacy of the gentleman whose reputation is concerned, to suggest a partisan object in the review.

Wendell Phillips, in a speech delivered a few months since, pronounced a severe criticism upon Gov. Chase for the course pursued by him in the case of Margaret Garner. He did not enter upon any complete statement of the case, either of its facts or the law and judicial proceedings relative thereto; something which would seem essential where one seeks to reverse the general judgment upon the life and character of a man who, for nearly thirty years, had been beloved by friends and assailed by enemies for faithful devotion to the slave. But, in some sharp-pointed periods, which assume facts not existing, Mr. Phillips makes a charge which, if substantiated, ought to deprive that magistrate of the good opinion of every humane man. and doubtless from the pen of its editor, Rev. Dr. Sawyer. How gnoble—yea, utterly contemptible, do the New York Observer and Times appear in the light of a candid, discerning and truthful criticism like this. Let it adorn the columns of the Liberator at full length, however complimentary or generous it may be to yourself. As an honest man, disdaining it to be only even and exact justice both to you and Mr. Thompson and the Abolitionists en masse. The spirit betrayed by the Times and Observer is ineffably

opinion of every humane man.

The general charge is, that Gov. Chase sacrificet
Margaret Garner. One specification of fact only i
given, and that is, that after assuring the Sheriff o It is a very curious fact in the history of public opinion, that the mass of people who never think or act with early reformers gradually come to persuade themselves, as the reformation goes on and grows popular, that they were always of that party, or at least always sympathized with its spirit. We have no descendants to-day of the Tories of the Revolugiven, and that is, that after assuring the Sheriff official support, "he travelled one hundred an twenty miles, and left the Sheriff to take the respon sibility—a responsibility the Governor dared no take, and she went back to bondage. No South Car olina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison a olina Governor, with an Abolitionist in prison a Charleston, would have ever gone up to Columbia. This is untrue. Mr. Chase left Cincinnati during the last days of December, 1855, or the first week in January, nearly a month before Margaret escaped, to attend his inauguration, and, pressed with the more than usual cares of a new administration, did not tion. Twenty years hence there will not be a man in all the North who favored secession, or cherished any sympathy with rebels! Even now it is rare to meet one who has ever wished well to slavery, or desired anything but its final abolition! The present aiders and abettors of rebellion in Congress, or out of it, will twenty, aye, ten years hence, prove to you that it was not the rebellion they wished to visit Cincinnati for a long time. The only specification of fact failing, the charge itself is by that iailur promote, but they were anxious to prevent the overthrow of the Constitution and the establishment discredited, and a case of perfect defence might fairly be rested here. And there is reason to believe that Mr. Phillips has thought better since these hasty of a milltary despotism!!
While men are thus very lenient towards themwhile men are thus very lement towards themselves, they are apt to be quite as unjust towards their neighbors. Our self-conceit sometimes makes us a little envious of those who have done a work which, probably, is likely to honor them, and which and rather intemperate words. In a later speech his reported to have said, in substance, that with Chast for President, Butler Secretary of War, and Fremon at the head of the Army, the country would be safe But surely he could not be the man to save the Re-public who had sacrificed a heroine and left a city to we, in our indolence or opposition altogether failed to perform, or even assist in performing. We have what seems to us a striking illustration of

shirk his duty.

This accusation is made against one whose name the second of the seco We have what seems to us a striking illustration of this phase of human weakness in an article which appeared some time ago in the New York Daily Times, and was reproduced with singular approbation in the New York Observer. The aim of the the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and from the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnati, and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnation and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnation and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnation and the slave Matilla, in the city of Cincinnation and the slave Matilla, a that time forward he was known as the "Attorne General of the Blacks" in a community where suc a reputation involved loss of political position, of a reputation involved loss of political position, o social caste and professional income. He aided to organize the Liberty party, and threw himself, in 1841, into its forlorn minority. By newspaper articles, by the drafting of resolutions and addresses, by public speeches, by private converging public speeches, by private conversation, by forens arguments for fugitive slaves, in season, and out was only a secondary and insignificant matter!

"These men," says the Times, "labored exactly for the same end for which John C. Calhoun labored—the dissolution of the Union between the non-slaveholding and the laveholding States. Their moral purpose differed from his, but their political purpose was exactly the same. In idea opposed as widely as the poles, in action they worked shoulder to shoulder. Calhoun endeavored to break up the Union to get loose from slavery. Slavery made one a distunion man; anti-slavery the other. Yet they both worked men, but has alone in the Cabinet discriminated in their favor. All things considered, what statesman of this or any age can point to services for freedom so long, so constant and so valuable? But let not these services be his defence. Let us forget them all, and

try him by the case in hand.
It is to be borne in mind that Mr. Chase, while opposing slavery with a strong moral fervor, shaped his political action against it in obedience to the Con-"We have not a particle of doubt," continues the Times, "that there was not a year in the twenty-five years preceding the rebellion, when the anti-slavery cause in this country would not have further advanced, and been in every respect better off, had William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and George Thompson, or disunion abolition speakers and writers like them, never existed."

"We have not a particle of doubt," continues the political action against it in obedience to the Constitution, always interpreting that instrument as intended to secure the rights of the people. In this he and the other leaders of the anti-slavery moyement were agreed. They believed that the hour of Revolution had not come, and that the cause could only make its way to triumph by obedience to the Constitution, always interpreting that instrument as in-tended to secure the rights of the people. In this be and the other leaders of the anti-slavery moyement were agreed. They believed that the hour of Revolution had not come, and that the cause could only make its way to triumph by obedience to law, so as to To all this the Observer adds a hearty Amen, and proceeds to exhibit the imposing fact in another phase:

"It would be an easy task to go back to the early history of the country, and show, as the Observer has again and again, done in times past, that the strong steady and prevailing current of sentiment among good men in the North and South has been anti-slavery from the beginning. We are well aware that it has been, and will yet be assumed by the ignorant and prejudiced that hearty opposition to the system was confined almost entirely to those who were loud est in invective. We venture to say that their opposition was least of all to be accounted of as contributing to any solid result. They were but the foam on the creat of the wave, more demonstrative, but least weighty. The strong under-current of American sentiment and feeling has, from the first, been one of american to the creates of the wave, from the first, been one of american to the creates of the wave, or President Lincoln for the escape of The Colon for the Republican party, and their leaders are not to be judged by it.

Another prefatory caution may not be amiss. It may almost seem trivial to repeat the truism, that a Governor or any civil magistrate is not responsible, even prima facie, for what goes wrong within the territory over which his authority, more or less limited, prevails.

coln for the escape of John Morgan from the Ohio prison. Only law, and the neglect thereof, can be fastened upo him, is he responsible. The legal duty, the power to perform, and the neglect, are points essential to an accusation. Beyond that, his duty does not exceed that of the private citizen, and often falls below it, as when pre-occupation with official cares of a genera cope prevents a personal and persistent attention to ndividual grievances already in proper hands. Al just men recognize these divisions and l responsibility. Truth and justice forbid that they should be overlooked in dealing with so precious a thing as character. A popular orator of fervid nature, master also of the rhetoric of passion, may make an audience already in sympathy with him forg them when he pictures a tragedy, and then, by transition not very distinct, denounces somebody who was present, or who held some public position at the ime, as responsible for it. He may even himself, in the ardor of his harangue, forget them; but reason and fairness with him, as with his hearers, will recove their sway. Nor do the tragic surroundings of a casgenerally make the duty of the magistrate different it is the same in the case of all the nameless slave who have been restored to bondage as in Margare Garner's. The duty of protection to rig whose wrong, from its similarity to those of others, i so common-place as to be forgotten, as to one who fate, from a peculiar combination of circumstance appealing to the heart and imagination, is taken up

by history.

It is proper here to recall the leading facts of the case. On the night of Sunday, Jan. 27th, 1856, Margaret Garner, and her husband and four children with the father and mother of her husband, escaped from Boone County, Kentucky, and cross ter followed in quick pursuit, and on the next day procured a warrant for the arrest of the fugitives under the Fugitive Slave Act, from a United State Commissioner by the name of John L. Pendery. The same day they were arrested, the husband of Mar garet firing on the arresting parties, and she hersel doing the deed which gave distinction to the case They were thereupon lodged in a Police Station of Cincinnati. It was the custom then, and is probably so still, for United States officers arresting par-ties under process held by them to confine them in the jails and prisons of the State, with the consent of the sheriffs and jailors. The confined party, under this practice of comity, remains still in the custody of the United States Marshal, though in the corporal powe of the Sheriff, who enforces or aids in enforcing the confinement as a sort of deputy of the Marshal. The cases of restored fugitive slaves had been very free quent in Cincinnati. The writer remembers to have en, in the Spring of 1854, a company of eight nine who had escaped together, ranging in age seventy years to a child of a few months, brough seventy years to a child of a few months, brought before that same Commissioner. They were remanded
to Kentucky after a hurried hearing, with no disturbance or excitement, and with but little interest
on the part of the community. And Margaret would
have passed away with the nameless train who had
for more than fifty years met an equal fate, but for
the sublime desperation with which she resisted a
second bendeng to her children.

the voice of a trumpet, the sleeping souls of mil-lions to a conflict which is now coming to an end; which, beginning in the thoughts of a single heart, the sublime desperation with w second bondage for her children. And here is the distinguishing feature of the While the Marshal and posse were arresting her, she seized a butcher-knife and killed one of her children seized a butcher-knile and killed one of her childrer
—a girl of three years—and attempted to kill the
next to prevent them from being restored to slavery.
The homicide won sympathy in her behalf, and gave
a possible opportunity of putting her into the custody
of the State, and of relieving her therefrom at some award them. We do not assume that they were perfect. They had the passions of other men, but if they possess great faults, they also share great virtues, which posterity will acknowledge, and the spirit of justice and liberty will consecrate. of the State, and of releving her therefrom at some fitting time, when she could succeed in an escape from her pursuers. On the day of her arrest, Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court, at the instance of the friends of the fugitives, issued a writ of habeus corpus, returnable before him, under which the Sheriff took the fugitives into custody and conveyed Most lives, though their strength is loaded with sand and turbid with alluvial waste, drop a few golden grains as they flow along.

that the case was in good and faithful hands. The counsel managed the case with ability and earnest sympathy, but if they erred in placing too much some reason, see fit to press the habeas corpus, and the Sheriff on the next day, and before the Judge had returned from Columbus, restored the prisoners to the custody of the United States Marshal, who continued to keep them in the jail. The animus of the Governor—his determination to do his duty and to uphold the honor of the State and the liberty of the tinued to keep them in the jail. The animus of the Governor—his determination to do his duty and to uphold the honor of the State and the liberty of the membered that, at that time, the public feeling in Cincinnati was strongly for the execution of the act, and strongly, too, in sympathy with the South. In the previous October, out of twenty-three thousand votes thrown in the County of which it forms the votes thrown in the County of which it forms the larger part in population, only forty-five hundred were given for Gov. Chase. Opposite Cincinnati, too, were the cities of Newport and Covington in Kentucky, to furnish, if necessary, an additional posse for the Marshal, with soldiers also at the New-Kentucky, to furnish, if necessary, and posse for the Marshal, with soldiers also at the Newport barracks. Besides, there was then no State militia which the Governor could call to his aid. The case having been delayed from day to day, the Grand Jury, to whom the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Cox, taking a humane interest in the fugitives, had presented their case, brought in an indictment for muranted their case, brought in the function of the case of Thomas Sims. He was arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston, on April 3d, 1851, and while being arrested, assaulted the Deputy Marshal, A. O. Butman. A complaint for the assault was made by the friends of Sims, and a warrant issued for his arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston, on April 3d, 1851, and while being arrested, assaulted the Deputy Marshal, A. O. Butman. A complaint for the assault was made by the friends of Sims, and a warrant issued for his arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston, on April 3d, 1851, and while being arrested, assaulted the Deputy Marshal, A. O. Butman. A complaint for the assault was made by the friends of Sims, and a warrant issued for his arrested as a fugitive slave in the case of the case of the case o sented their case, brought in an indictment for murder of the child against Margaret and her husband, and his parents. The Sheriff served the capias upon them, and again took them into custody, leaving the children in the custody of the Marshal. Being already in actual possession, this involved no removal. Already holding them as a kind of deputy of the Marshal, he now claimed to hold the legal custody under process issued directly to himself from the State Courts. The Marshal, on the other hand, still alaimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody, and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody and did, as it claimed to be entitled to the custody. A writ of perif he did not maintain his custody. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in time, and therefore superior in right, unless the State process, being a criminal one, was to be regarded as superior in kind, so as to supersede the Federal process of reclamation. The superior effect of the State eriminal process has been claimed, but the United States Courts have not yielded to the force of the argument, maintaining that a comity necessary to prevent violent conflicts of jurisdiction requires that where a process, civil or criminal, from one court, either State or Federal, has attached, a process from the other must wait until the first has terminated. The point was raised in the Sims case before the State Courts, but it was not necessary to decide it. It is stated that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts took a view like that of the Federal courts, in an unpublished opinion, when consulted by Gov. Gardner. It seemed, however, at that time, that Judge Leavitt of the United States District Court for the counsel for Margaret, in a conversation while, her case was pending, an opinion in favor of the superiority of the State criminal process. Her counsel, who were also acting as legal advisers of the Sheriff, who were absoluted as regardances of the Sherin, were Edward Mills, since deceased, and George Hoadley, who has held an eminent judicial position in Ohio; both men of acknowledged ability and zeal-ous friends of the slave. When making the intimation referred to, the Judge suggested a hearing beere Edward Mills that he held the four persons indicted under the pro-cess of the State, to await their trial on the charge of cess of the State, to await their trial on the charge of murder. The counsel and friends thus handed over the case to the Federal Judge, misled by his intimation, as the event proved. This was on Feb. 26. The Judge listened to an argument, particularly on the point referred to, and took the case under advisement. As he left the court, the Commissioner took his vacated seat and decided the fugitives to be slaves of chimate. Judge Burgeryen bud hed before himself. claimants. Judge Burgoyne had had before himself urned the hearing to the 30th. On the morning the 28th, however, to the surprise of counsel and

responsibility of Gov. Chase upon them? It was not his duty, by force and violence and without rightful process, to rescue the unhappy fugitives. Had he attempted this, under the plea of official authority, he would have been simply a usurper. He would thereby have embarked in a revolutionary proceeding, which would not have saved them, and would have been prejudicial to the cause of constitutional resistance to the Act. Society now throws herself back, like the individual in cases of necessity, some what upon natural and revolutionary rights, but the time for that had not then arrived. Having no of time for that had not then arrived. Having no of-ficial power under the law to protect them, his duty became like that of any private citizen—no more, no less. The argumentum ad hominen may be good fencing in debate, but it rarely elucidates truth, and But to give point to the illustration, we submit that Gov. Chi se, having no power under the law to save them, Mr. Phillips's duty to rescue Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns, who went back to bondage under his own eye, was equal-ly great. Had he led a charge on the Marshal's posse at some competing moments. posse at some opportune moment, as he is brave enough to do, thousands, inspired by his example. might have followed, and the dark deed of rest tion would have been prevented. There is no rule of morals, no principle of law, which justifies him for not doing so, not equally available for the entire vindication of Gov. Chase.

It seems to be implied in the accusation that Gov. Chase is responsible for the action, or rather inaction, of the Sheriff. No assumption could be more unfair. He had no legal power over that officer, no more than he had over a Judge of a Court, or a member of the Legislature. The Sheriff was an officer elected by the people. The Governor could not re-move him or dictate his action in any way—the Sheriff being as independent of him as he was of the Sheriff. The Sheriff could have laughed in his face, and would probably have done so, had he attempted to give him the slightest direction. That ministerial officer-held the process, and the Governor could not lay his hand upon him, either to take it away or to compel its execution; and only in aiding the Sheriff to execute the same, if he saw fit to execute it, had the Governor the slightest power in the pren The Governor of a State-least of all, the Gove f Ohio, whose functions are fewer and more confin than elsewhere—has no imperial power to protect rights and redress grievances; and the mere fact of a wrong done in the State makes not even a prima facie case of responsibility on his part. He certainly had no such war powers as upon military necessity are now accorded to the President of the United States. He had rarely any initial power to redress private wrongs, that function being appropriate to the judicial tribunals and the ministerial officers who go forth to execute their mandates. Whoever would be a safe critic on the conduct of rulers, must not for a moment overlook such cardinal distinctions

What, then, could Gov. Chase rightfully do to save Margaret Garner? He could, though unprovided with a militia force, and compelled to rely on a posse drawn from a community favorable to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act, do what he could to enforce such process as the Sheriff was willing to execute, and protect him in the custody of Margaret, if he was willing to keep it; in other words, sustain the process of the State with the power of the State. He could do more than this. He could show a watchful sympathy in the fate of the fugitive, give ready access for consultation to her legal advisers and friends, and aid, with the moral power of his name and influence, all legitimate measures for her protection. He did all this, and more. He pledged to the counsel his best ability to sustain the Sheriff in exe-

them to the County jail. The Judge at once pro-cuting the process and retaining the custody, as the ceeded to Columbus, to confer with Gov. Chase. The surviving one of the two advocates and the prosecuthem to the County jail. The Judge at once proceeded to Columbus, to confer with Gov. Chase. The Governor assured him that the process of the State Courts would be enforced in Hamilton County as well as in other parts of the State, and that the Sheriff, in the performance of his duty, would be sustained by the whole power at the command of the Executive. The friends of Margaret did not, for some reason, see fit to press the habeas corpus, and confidence in the Federal Judge or otherwise, Gov.

> the did more, as we have said. In his zeal for the fugitive, he pushed the construction of the provis gitives from justice to an extent which it would not be entirely safe to adopt. Although she had not escaped from Ohio, having been taken therefrom against

her will, he made a requisition for her, as an escaped offender, on the Governor of Kentucky, stating the facts. That functionary, desiring to extend the purview of the clause, issued an order for her surrender.

s stated, what he could to prevent a waiver of right by being on hand himself, or by deputy, to attend on Marshal not returning it to Court. A writ of per being on hand himsen, or by deputy, to attend on the prisoners. He was at the same time threatened the claimant with a suit for damages under the act he did not maintain his custody. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the Federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the Marshal under the federal process was prior in the first process. The custody of the first process was prior in the first process. The custody of the first process was prior in the first process was prior in the first process. The custody of the first process was prior in the first process was prior in the first process. The custody of the first process was prior in the first process was prior in the first process was prior in the first process. The first process was prior in the first proces cuit Court, where Charles Sumper and Samuel E. Sewall appeared in his behalf. A petition for a writ of habeas corpus was argued before the Supreme Judicial Court of the State (Chief-Justice Shaw pre-siding and delivering the opinion.) by Robert Ran-toul, Jr., and Richard H. Dana, Jr. The case was argued before the Commissioner, George T. Curtis, by Robert Rantoul, Jr., and Charles G. Loring, who applied fullness of learning to the law, and critical acumen to the facts. George S. Boutwell was Governor. He was surrounded by an anti-slavery Coun crinor. He was surrounded by an anti-slavery Coun-cil, one of whom was Francis W. Bird. Henry Wil-son was President of the Senate, Nathaniel P. Banks Speaker of the House, and Amasa Walker Secre-tary of State. A Legislature was in session which, a few days later, on April 24th, elected Charles Sumner to the United States Senate. Vigilance Committees held daily and nightly sessions. Outside the Courts, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, and others of less fame, but of like spirit, thundered against the crime. And yet, with all this variety of judicial proceedings, this array of lawyers and publicists, a State government unfriendly to, the act, no member of which has been assailed for remissness, and with all this demonstration of popular feeling, Sims was carried off from the State under a decision of the Commissioner, on the morning of April 12th, just nine days from the time of tion referred to, the Judge suggested a hearing before himself on a habeas corpus, as a means by which the Marshal could protect himself against a suit for damages in case of a decision in favor of the Sheriff's right to the custody. The counsel, relying on this extra judicial intimation, consented to this course, and the Marshal having sued out a writ of habeas and the Marshal having sued out a writ of habeas walked down the street to take the vessel which was the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best him to Googgie passed within a stone's throw to have the best himself against a suit for damages in case of a decision in favor of the Sheri and the stone of the sheri and t and the Marshal having such out a write of naheas walked down the street to take the vessel which was corpus before Judge Leavitt for the body of Margaret, directed to the Sheriff, the latter officer, upon the advice of the counsel referred to, produced her in Court with a copy of the indictment and capias, for all this, and for the Anthony Burns case, too, of and submitted to the jurisdiction, making his return similar features, which went on in presence of the throngs of Anniversary week in 1854, and among a people stung to indignation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise? No, this would not be just. These were done because the government of the United States was then in the har

if these masters were to return to power. Such, then, are the facts. Gov. Chase did not hearing that same day on another habeas corpus, thich he had issued for the children, and had advanged the hearing that the children, and had advanged the hearing that the children are the corpus that the children are the children and had advanged the hearing that the children are the children no power to do so. He gave assurances of his readiness and determination to sustain the process of the State with the power of the State, and he was faithful to them. He did all that the counsel and friends of Margaret asked of him, and they now, as always, of the 28th, however, to the surprise or counsel and friends, Judge Leavitt gave a decision, declaring the custody of the Sheriff unlawful, and remanding the parties claimed to the possession of the Marshal. The Sheriff and the counsel of Margaret made no further sheriff and the counsel of Margaret made no further ration. They do not accuse him, but the accusation. Sheriff and the counsel of Margaret made no lurther resistance. The fugitives were at once placed in an comes from one who was nearly a thousand miles away at the time, neither a participant in the scene five hundred special deputies. They were in Kentucky an hour after the decision, and while it was poraneous, but a remote record. To do a great resistance. The fugitives were resistance. The fugitives were in Kendive hundred special deputies. They were in Kendive hundred hu cause the law had given him no power to save her. If he is responsible, then is every magistrate, civil or military, responsible for everything that goes wrong no matter though he has no official right Fair dealing between man power to prevent 'it. and man, putting aside all charity and all respect for eminent services to humanity, forbids such a judgment.

AN HOUR WITH A COPPERHEAD OFFICER.

- the niggers-I wish they were all killed. Blast them, they're getting so saucy and indepen-dent they'll ride over us afore long."

The person who delivered himself of this sage ree embellishments of which I have indicated mark, the embellishments of which I have indicated by a dash, was a superbly dressed gentleman with a superbly forbidding face, and whose eyes seemed to have got up a kind of family quarrel; for when the one looked down the ridge of the crooked nose, the other seemed to be looking for an eclipse of the

"I'm a Kentuckian, and sir, I know all about the

I replied as blandly as possible, that it was very likely he knew all about the nigger-that Southe

rinace more
e "I wish every one of them was drafted, and put

in the front ranks and kept there, till every or them was killed." them was killed."

"Government promises to draft some of them, and for this reason Kentucky kicks up her heels, and threatens to go into convulsions if negroes are put on an equality with white soldiers, in putting down the rebellion." I replied.

"What are the cusses worth anyhow? They are mean, council down and won?" fight."

mean, cowardly dogs, and won't fight."

"Then why do you want them drafted into the army, if they won't fight? And why have official

reports praised negro troops for their bravery?"
"It's all abolition lies. We have an abolition of ernment trampling on the rights of the people, and breaking the Constitution every day. Fact is," and here his tone became very confidential, and the green eyes squinted at different angles, and the ugly face eyes squinted at different angles, and the ugly face puckered up into what was meant for a smile, but it was only a kind of lock-jaw grip—" Fact is, I'm in the army myself; been a good deal about Washington and the Army of the Potomac, and know some things about this confounded Abolition Administration, that's running the country to ruin. I know why our best Generals, such as McClellan, and Buell, and Porter, have been so meanly treated, and ll. and Porter, have been so meanly treated, and wby it is that Pope and Butler and others have been petted, and taken the place of better men. It is all because of the cussed Abolitionists, that want to rob

people of their property—"
"I'm in the army, too," said I, putting on my hat, which was the only article of uniform I then had ould to en-ing to exe-had better learn, too—one of which is that slave-largaret, if holders and their friends, either in or out of the holders and their friends, either in or out of the army, in Kentucky or in Ohio, are all traitors. And the other is, that before this war is over slavery will be as dead as a herring—and its friends, too, perhaps." Saying which, I left him, and entered my state-room. Two years ago, perhaps, it would not have been very safe to have spoken to a Kentucky Colonel in this style, and that, too, in close proximity to "old Kaintuck."—Army Cor. of the Syracuse Wesleyan. THE NEW YORK HERALD.

The New York Herald well deserves the title la ago felicitously bestowed upon it, The Satanie Its whole spirit is diabolic. To promote disse Its whole spirit is utatione. To promote dis-to aggravate abuses, to encourage public cor-and private immorality, to simulate folly guery in high places, and to bring trouble; grace upon the country—these are intents, that no thoughtful reader of fail to observe them.

One of its efforts, in full concert with the relati er since the war began, has be Union in a war with France or England, or never does a week pass without the p some editorial article, calculated expres late foreign animosity against the Uniter to invite foreign powers to unite weakening us, in order to forestall our side, with which the Herald is our sale, with the aten them. In its issue of Sa last, it undertakes to "anticipate history by ing that this Republic, which has proven its ing that this Kepudic, which has proven in greatest military power in the world, will delay the general settlement of accour Europe has invited. This is what the per about and expect. From California to M are exchanging congratulations, not only upon the glorious present, but upon the glorious future. Cai fornia is next door to Mexico, Maine edges in me

anada."

This is but a mild type of its habitual sinister in marole; but it happens to be the latest we have a hand. The reader will observe how artfully a framed to excite the fears of three nations at one with threats of vengeance from the Union, as non as the rebellion is over.

Every individual purchaser of the Herald is m

Every individual purchaser of the Herald is re-sponsible in some degree for the enormous power which that journal possesses for evil. Its slating, reckless character makes it a favorite with thoughtless and unreflecting, while multitude the do not deserve to be placed in that category are pa-do not deserve to be placed in that category are paand not deserve to be placed in that category, as yes sufficiently amused by its style to encourage it by its purchase, and thus it becomes accredited in European as the best representative of American patriots intelligence, and breeding—the fact being, at its same time, that the whole concern is under the or rect management of renegade foreigners, and or or secret sympathizers with the rebellion. The remedy is in part in every person's own hand-namely, to resolutely refuse, under any circumsta-York Times and Tribune are fully its country papers, and incomparably its superiors in everyober respect; and from either of them a fairer and more trustworthy view of public affairs is to be obtained than from the Herald.—Salem Gazette.

HOW GARIBALDI LOOKS

An English paper gives the following description Gen. Garibaldi's personal appearance, at int ght, on board the steamship that had conveyed him to England :-

I was one of the first people on board, and after few moments' hesitation as to which way we should turn, in the wilderness of ayays, Anglo-Indian lady-passengers, invalids, children and luggage wherein we find ourselves, we hear that the Genera is in the saloon, and at once proceed thither. (
proceeding thither, I heard a full-toned, but swe oice, saying, " Better, better, I thank you much n reply to inquiries as to his foot, some minutes be ore that voice's owner is visible to me, and it is important. sible to avoid envying Mr. Negretty and Mr. Jose Cowden, as they are severally invited to greet the

The cabin is by this time full, and the nat hen by a change of position I obtain m with a sling cigar-case and courier's bag bung up overhead, is shaking hands warmly with "Free Newcastle, and gracefully acknowledging to a around the many kindnesses he has received. Let g on his walking stick, and proceeds, accompanied by all of us, to the cushioned seat at the end of the saloon. In truth a kingly looking man, some five feeteight

ches in height, he is broadly built, and his pro lofty brow, soft and gentle eyes, which sparkle which sparkle which sparkle whom or and playfulness; a full-sized, well-shap nose, a massive jaw, indicative of power, and a su which a woman might envy. He were light and trowsers, smartly made, patent leather boots, a sil gray gaberdine with a scarlet lining or hood, and mbroidered smoking cap, which looked as if it be een worked by some fair admirer. A black is handkerchief round his neck-of course no colla and a light crimson bandana thrown loosely over shoulders, complete a costume which, for pictures ness, it would be difficult to equal. The impres produced on me was that I saw before me one who

nd as he gave his cordial and hearty gre each new and old friend who preclasp him by the hand, it was impossible to avo nclusion that we were in the presence of one nently qualified by nature to sway a nation, and s cure its sympathies. In repose his coulion-like in its gentle gravity and conscious when animated, it lights up in a way lean only pare to the effect of sunshine upon an beautiful landscape. He understands Engli feetly, but speaks it with a slightly foreign. and it may interest some readers to know the heartily the peculiar grip only known to

"Brethren of the mystic tie."

PERSONAL. A. J. Grover, Esq., late of Early PERSONAL. A. J. Grover, and the family in out of Mr. Grover, we understand, has had an extensive it is as a lawyer for the last eight years in Earth lilinois, and intends to pursue his profession here. It is at present in the office of L. Allis, Esq. The following notice of a meeting of his fellows, held at his late home, is taken from the f

Resolutions of Respect: The prominen and leading citizens of Earlville, Lasalle of linois, met at the office of J. W. Browne, on of April. A. D., 1864, and unanimously adopted Whereas, Our esteemed friend and fellow

Whereas, Our esteemed friend and tenderal parts, Esq., who has lived among us far may years, is, on account of the poor health of his family about to remove to St. Paul, Minnesda, therefore, Resolved, That we, his old neighbors and friend tender him the expression of our sneeter eyers at the departure, and our best wishes for his future property.

Resolved, That during his residence at has ever had, in an eminent degree, our confidence has ever had, in an eminent degree, our confidence respect, both as a citizen and as a lawyer, add are integrity and legal ability, will, we rust, a for him, wherever he may locate, a high position man, and as a lawyer.

J. W. BROWNE, Chaint JAMES MERRIT, Secretary.

A HARD CASE. Several months ago, A HARD CASE. Several monus as want was charged in New Orleans by K. Lawrence, of Wisconsin, with n \$30,000, and, after being unmercitully negro was sentenced to hard labor at il gas for life. Facts have recently come edge of the War Department fixing the rence himself. Secretary Stanton and edge of the War Department along rence hinself. Secretary Stanton at Washington a few days ago, and put Capitol prison. Twenty thousand do recovered, and paper found on him ing York contractor named Peck. He was the old Capitol to await a trial by the mission. An order has been sent to lease the negro.—Springfield Republication.

A LINE OF STEAMERS TO BRAZIL B. Alley, of this State, has reposited to Brazil. In an able speech it measure, says the Boston Journal, shows the window and progrative to the state of the stat couragement to ocean steam nadvocates the proposed subsi-with which country our trade-nitely increased. Through the of Rev. Mr. Fletcher, the att of Rev. Mr. Fietener, the according to the community has been drawn to of Brazil, and it needs but an inc subsidy from our Government, will eral Government of Brazil is reacure the establishment of a line of

JEFF. DAVIS AND MISCEGENATION son of Jeff. Davis, undeniably proved now serving on the gunboat Carondel brought North as an illustration of t which miscegenation is made practical

EVER

THE

SI WASHIN ROBERT F. TERMS-

Four copie M remitta relating to the pec-directed, (POST PAI Advertisem for three insertion The Agents ivania, Ohio and B The following ttee, bu are paper, vis: -- WEN

WM. LLOYD VOL

Sel BRITISH AND The Annual Med London Tavern, I

day, the 20th of M

n the Chair. Am

proceedings was th

clergyman, who has o a Bishopric in W The twenty-fifth which was read by the Act passed by 1862, for freeing th men and children while more than 1, the Southern State pated themselves b the United States ortant era in they advocated cou it was asserted that introduced from Al the White Nile, an The report next a existing, so far as the world. Comme last census returns in the Southern whom were said to sequence of the w 100; the annual in

of 2 per cent. T (Asiatic and Euro Africa, there mig slaves, making a gr port concluded by bearing upon the qu place in America, and the Dutch Colo ttee view wit row the continuation time, they did not h of it upon the leade ately, and with mal nd were mercilessl sole object of exten uating a system of a moralizing and odioo example. The repo emancipation in so n however, must be ac wide-spread feeling with the preservation prospect of perman-must be exterminat proceedings, the con in watching the effor

It was to be regrett was raging, yet it was that, in consequence freed themselves. speak of the fundam These principles wer itself existed, there the annihilation of t other words, furnished ecution of the slave which could be bro ficient to crush and e damental principle of at the root of the ev ple was that the about the attained most effermeans. But there we believed a simple of the state of the believed nine-tenths and supported the soc perhaps wisely, not in that was that slavery

tially and without que this was not inserted the conviction of the connected wif plicitly believed it. to argue that, even America gained the right for England to hat England was octo Governments o catablish themse tone, and for this knowledge them. make slavery perpe had perpetual slave slave trade. (Hear Mr. Samuel Bow

rejoiced to find that ple had been thoro country to the other country to the other country to the other country to the other confinence on the Gov and the country to the other continue to support the continue to support the continue to support this matter, that fore other country the country that could have a most would have a most continue to the country that country that country the country that country the country that country that country the country that country that country that country the country that country that country the cou

rought forward managery. He should some of slavery to would like it to be world. In Russia so of over-